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WINSLOW WARREN

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Mercy Otis (Mrs. James Warren)
From the original painting by Copley
in the possession of Winslow Warren

WARREN-ADAMS LETTERS

Being chiefly a correspondence among
John Adams, Samuel Adams,
and James Warren

VOL. II

1778-1814

72995

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Warren-Adams Letters

1778-1814

Warren-Adams Letters

Mercy Warren to Abigail Adams Adams mss.

Plimouth, *Jan.* 2d, 1778

My Dear Friend, — Great Advantages are often Attended with Great Inconveniences, and Great Minds Called to severe tryals. If your Dearest Friend had not Abilities to Render such important services to his Country, he would not be Called to the self Denying task of Leaving for a time His Beloved Wife and Little pratling Brood. Therefore while I Weep with my Friend the painful absence, I Congratulate her that she is so Nearly Connected with a Gentleman whose Learning, patriotism and prudence qualify Him to Negotiate at Foreign Courts the affairs of America at this Very Critical period.

I think I know your public spirit and Fortitude to be such that you will Throw no Impediment in his way. Why should you? You are yet young, and may sit down together many years in peace after He has finished the Work to his own Honor to the satisfaction of his Constituents and to the Approbation of his Conscience. You cannot, my Dear, avoid anticipating the Advantages that will probably Redound from this Honorable Embassy to your self to your Children and your Country. But while I wish to say some what to support your Resolution and spirits Methinks something Wispers me within that you will justly say that we are very Ready to Give advice when we but Illy practice upon the principles we lay down. True — but we may profit by the advice though we despise the Weakness of the Adviser. Yet I have not so Ill an opinion of myself as to think were I just in your situation I should not strive for the Exertion of a Little Heroism upon such an occasion.

I was in hopes we should have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Adams at Plimouth before he left America. I should be very happy to see you together by my fire side if it was but for one day before he Crosses the Atlantic; but if that cannot be my best Wishes await him. Assure him that my Fervant prayer is that he May Experience the peculiar protection of providence through Every stage of his useful Life.

But I think before we part I Must desire him to Look into a Letter from Marcia Dated March, 1776 (if he has not Destroyed it), which will Remind him of a Certain Bargain which I Expect he will fulfill. His Excuse was once that he should Never be Called to the Different Courts of Europe. But I have seen Events so precipitated, and the Wheels of Revolution so Rapidly Move on, that I have Expected it for several years. And if I am Notwithstanding His Vast Avocations Gratifyed with one Letter from the Court of France, however high I May Esteem the Indulgence, I shall not be More pleased with the Honour done me by the Embassadour of America than obliged by this Mark of Friendship from Mr. Adams.

One thing More I Must beg you to assure him that if it is possible for me or mine to do anything to Lessen the Inconvenience or pain of absence that His portia or Her Children May suffer, He may Depend upon the Ready aid of His and your very Affectionate Friend

MARCIA WARREN

MERCY WARREN TO ABIGAIL ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

Jan. 8th, 1778

. . . . . .

In your late hasty lines you ask three questions, Viz., what I think of a Certain appointment, what you ought to do, and what I would do. To the first I answer I think the Appointment most Judicious, and though we want his services hear I think the *Stat Holder* the best qualifyed of any man on the Continent to Represent the united states of America. By his penetrating Genius he May see through and Defeat the tricks of old statesmen and

Courtiers, at the same time He Guards against the Imbecility and Wickedness of more Modern politicians.

To the second I reply you must be too sensible of the path that duty points out and the part you ought to act to stand in Need of the premonitions of Friendship. To your 3d question, I have too Great a Regard to my own Character to [say] Frankly No, yet am too suspicious of my own Heart positively to say yes. Therefore must Leave it a little *problematical* till further Examination and tryal.

I had some secret hopes that a Certain Embarkation would have been made from plimouth, but if there is a better place Layed you will with my best Regards bid your Friend Adieu in my Name, and suffer me to accompany your Every Good wish for his safety, success and happy Return.

I am sorry I cannot supply you with the little Articles you wrote for, but I lend out of my own store ½ oz. of different threads, just to keep you at Work till Either you or myself can get a larger supply.

My son has no Cambrick. But there is a Frenchman here with whom I should have traded for you, but he cannot yet Give me his price, and I dare not purchase at a Venture, as he seems fully acquainted with the spirit of the Country, and knows no bounds to his Demands. If you will limit me I will follow your Directions and purchase whatever you want. He has a Great Variety of those Luxuries we have been Fond off.

This European Commerce is attended with some Inconveniencies, for though we want their Cloathing, Warlike stores, etc., etc., they throw in upon us such an Innundation, useless Baubles that the Wealthy may purchase and the poorer Will, that I fear their will be little of that Frugality and Oeconomy so Necessary to support the Increasing public Burdens.

12 *Jan.* Since the Above was wrote I have been trying to trade with Monsieur, but find it will not do for Either of us. I cannot Get a bit of Cambrick fit for your use under £9 per yd. Threads he has in plenty at 1/ per scain. I therefore send 10 scains of a sort from my little stock till you can do better. With Great sincerity subscribe your Friend MARCIA WARREN

HANNAH WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

Feb. 4, 1778

Methinks I hear Mrs Warren wondring how they do at head Quarters at Cambridge. Perhaps her wonder may encrease when I tell her the British Officers live in the most Luxurious manner Possible, rioting on the Fat of the Land, Stalking at Large with the Self-importance of Lords of the Soil. G[enera]l B[urgoy]n has been allowed a Court Martial on a Continental Col[one]l for doing his duty in preventing an insurrection of British Troops.[1] at which Court B——n took upon himself to Preside, interrogating and aiming to intimedate the Witnesses on our part, encouraging those on his own, displaying his Parliamentary Eloquence, Spouting forth his Contempt of Americans, Sometimes in insidious Ironical Compliments, at others by open direct abuse insulting and painting in the Blackest Colors Coll. Henly, whom he often Calld Criminal at the Bar. This Scene has Continued almost three weeks and the Court Sitting Tame hearers. I hope the Public will be favord with the whole of this Tryal,[2] if not prevented by the interruption of an important Order just arrivd, to declare them all Prisoners of War. O amazing reverse of Circumstances! an Epithet G——l B——n constrained G——l Glover (who applied it to him on the Tryal) with the haughtiness of an Emperor of the whole world to retract and to confess it an inadvertant Slip and to call him only a Prisoner of Convention. What will be the Consequence of this Manuvre time must tell.

I enclose you a Letter which I think will entertain you if new to you. Forgive the bad writing. Please to return it with your comments For my time in Copying it I think I may with some degree of asurance ask to peep into your Cabinet and be Favord with some of your entertaining Manuscripts.

Pray accept of much affection from your ever Sincere

[*No signature.*]

P.S Pray excuse an erasement. I was just now askd by a by-

1 David Henley to William Heath, January 8, 1778, in 7 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 201. Henley was acquitted.

2 The Proceedings of the court martial were printed both in Boston and London.

stander if I did not think my Scrips would make a pretty Figure in one of Gains N. York papers as Letters are often intercepted. the bad writing must be my Signature in Future.

P.S Upon further inquiry I find the order I mentioned not to be the declaring the British Prisoners of War, as was at first represented, But detaining them here Till the British King or Parliament Ratify the Convention.[1] Don't you think the Continuance of these Cormorants will bring us into difficulty.

I sincerely hope the Sequel of this Court Martial will Lower the Crest of some of these high plumed officers.

Martha Washington to Mercy Warren

Valley Forge, *March the* 7th, 1778

Dear Madame, — I am now to thank you for the two very kind Letters which you have been pleased to favor me with, the one written some time last summer, and the other by Mr. Bowdoin. It gave me a peculiar pleasure to hear by that Gentleman that you and Genl. Warren enjoyd good health. And this pleasure was not a little increased by hearing from yourself that you are so very happy in your state — no traces of the enemy being left; but on the other hand, plenty of everything useful and necessary to be procured. indeed I think providence was very bountifull in her goodness to your state; even when the enemy was in it, we found there every article in plenty, and full sufficient for the use of the army. in Virginia we have had no British troops since the cruel Dunmore left us, but how soon we shall, is not at this time known. I hope, and trust, that all the states will make a vigorous push early this spring, if every thing can be prepared for it, and thereby putting a stop to British cruelties, and afford us that pease liberty and happyness which we have so long contended for.

1 Congress on January 8, 1778, resolved, "That the embarkation of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, be suspended till a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the Court of Great Britain to Congress." *Journals of the Continental Congress*, x. 35.

It has given me unspeakable pleasure to hear that Genl. Burgoyne and his army are in safe quarters in your state. would bountifull providence aim a like stroke at Genl. Howe, the measure of my happyness would be compleat.

I came to this place some time about the first of February, where I found the General very well. I left my children at our House. Mrs. Custis [1] has lately had a fine girl,[2] which makes the second since she left Cambridge. she is so much confined with her children, that she stays altogether with them.

I left Mr. Bowdoin in Alexandria. he was a good deal distressed on account of Mr. Pliarne,[3] a french gentleman, his partener who was by accident drowned crossing the Potomack river: his Body was not found when I left home; his behaviour and agreeable manners, rendered him a favourite with all that knew him, and caused his death to be much lamented.

The General is incamped in what is called the great valley on the Banks of the Schuylkill. officers and men are chiefly in Hutts, which they say is tolarable comfortable; the army are as healthy as can well be expected in general. The General's appartment is very small he has had a log cabbin built to dine in which has made our quarters much more tolarable than they were at first.

It would give me pleasure to deliver your compliments to Mrs. Gates,[4] but she lives at so great a distance from me that I have not seen her since we parted at New York two years ago. The General joins me in offering our respectful compliments to Genl. Warren and yourself.

I am dr madam with esteem your affectionate Friend and very Hble servt.

MARTHA WASHINGTON

1 Eleanor Calvert, wife of John Parke Custis.
2 Martha Parke Custis, born December 1, 1777, married Thomas Peter.
3 Emanuel de Pliarne had come from France in 1775, with Pierre Penet to enter into contracts with the Continental Congress for arms and munitions.
4 Mary (Valence) Gates.

MERCY WARREN TO JAMES WARREN

PLIMOUTH, *March* 10, 1778

MY DEAREST FRIEND, — I am not out of spirits. Your Henry says I am not, and there is nothing he observes more or more ardently wishes than to support the spirits of his mamah. I hope this filial principle in him will ever coincide with the virtuous disposition heaven has bestowed to prevent his deviation from that line of conduct which can alone make him happy.

But we have here the most disagreeable reports. Faith, fortitude and courage are necessary to bear us up amidst the train of public evils even if the body was in health and the mind free from domestic anxiety.

War is likely to thicken upon us. Conspiracies at Cambridge, Traitors at Boston, among which it is said some very unexpected names appear, though we do not yet learn who.

Burgoyne's troops supplied with arms, our own army without clothes, without provisions and without tents, many of them deserting to the enemy and others on the borders of mutiny, General Washington under suspicions, about to be dismissed or to retire in disgust, the toast among the soldiers *Washington* or no army,[1] and to complete the picture, the General Court laying on taxes and making regulations that the people are determined not to comply with. Yet I do not feel greatly terrified by these dismal accounts. We often see the clouds gather blackness and when big with the lowering storm they are suddenly dispersed by that almighty hand who sits at the helm and suffers no ill to befall his creatures but when necessary to promote the mighty designs of his providence; that providence has hitherto protected us. I strike out three fourths of this gloomy tale as only the vague rumours of the day and reverse the scene and view America finally triumphant though innumerable difficulties may rise up in her way.

We have two British transports now in this harbor.[2] A number

1 This refers to the Conway cabal and its design of placing Gates in command of the army.

2 For taking the Convention troops to England. The total number of transports was twenty-five, under the command of Hugh Dalrymple. A list, with the tonnage of vessels is in Heath Papers, VIII–177.

of our people went on board yesterday and returned mightily pleased with the civility and the *presents* they received. What a *weakness!* How easily are mankind duped by each other without either love confidence or esteem.

I have been better this day than any one since you left me. I know you pity me under this long confinement, were you to look in upon me and in your way "Come up spirits," and then paint some agreeable images as usual I know nothing that would have so ready a tendency to restore health; that cheerful voice has always a very happy effect on your

MARCIA

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS[1]

BOSTON, *May* 8th, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — I hope by this Time you have got over the greater part of your long and tedious Journey to York Town, and you will soon get through, and find all things to your Wishes. Nothing material has occurred here since your departure but what you will have an account of before this can reach you. We are now enjoying the first fruits of our New Connections, several of the fleet from France are arrived, with large quantities of Cloathing, etc., and a French Man of War of 36 Guns, so that your beloved Harbour looks quite Brilliant. I want you should enjoy the prospect from your Windows. The public, and private Persons are treating the officers of the French Man of War with every Mark of Respect, and I understand they are highly pleased with Your Town. Tomorrow the Council entertain them with a public Dinner at Marston'. I am to be one of the Guests. you will certainly see among the Toasts, the Congress, and the King of France. You will remember the Embarrassments of the Navy Board for want of Money, and our Embarrassments Increase with the great Accumulation of Business which grows on us every Day, with six Sail of Ships and Brigantines on hand in this Port and a number of other Demands we can't at this time command 500

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

dollars. we have indeed some Warrants on the Loan Offices but can get no Money. You will also remember the provision for the Members of the Board, the Cloathers Otis & Andrews are in great difficulty for want of Money and should be supplied, to preserve any kind of Credit to the Continent.

I wish you every Happiness and am Your Sincere Friend

J. Warren

Mr. Hancock talks of going in a day or two.

James Warren to Samuel Adams[1]

Boston, *May* 10th, 1778

My Dear Sir, — I wrote to you two days ago since which nothing very material has occurr'd. I was yesterday at an Elegant Entertainment made at Marston's House by our Council for the Officers of the French Frigate and other Strangers. this was attended with fireing of cannon, etc. and seemd to give great Satisfaction, and if not quite Conformable to the rigid rules and Oeconomy of a Young Republic may under our Circumstances be good policy. the Representatives of your Town were all present Except Gen'l Hancock who did not honour us with his Company. why he did not is a subject of Conjecture for you and others without being able to assign a reason in any other way. had you been present you might not have appeared as the greatest Man in Company while the Council were there and at the head of the Feast, tho' you might Actually have been so. The Tories are very Industrious in Instilling prejudices into the minds of the people against our Connections with France. The danger of Popery is held up to them, and every other Art that Wickedness and weakness can devise is practised, but I hope with little Effect. this may be more Excusable in some People but what will you think of a Member of Congress who for the sake of Establishing his own popularity or for any other reason should Express his Apprehensions or rather his Opinion that this Connection will ruin America. when such an Opinion was given in the hearing of one

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

Tory Lady, you may easily conceive it is told to others, and quoted by the great Numbers with which your dear Town abounds. My regards to Mr's Gerry and Lovel.

Adieu. Yours etc.

J. Warren

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *May* 13th, 1778

My dear Sir, — The Inclosed was designed to have gone by the Express which went two days ago and which I unluckily miss'd but the small Importance of it renders the loss of little Consequence. We had yesterday an Arrival from France in five weeks. there was no war declared at that Time, though other matters of Intelligence are Confirmed by her. I need not descend to any perticulars. you certainly have much better Intelligence than I can give or will have before this reaches you. I have had much Conversation with Mr. Carmichal. he laments your being gone, and wishes to be Acquainted with you. I remember the Letter you Communicated to me. I told him that Congress had made an Appointment for him if I remembered right. he seemed to be pleased with it. whether I did right or not I doubt. if I did you will approve it. if I did not you will not Expose a Friend who you know, never did any thing with a design to Injure the Cause. I have in some measure given him my opinion of Men and Measures. We hear Nothing of the *Boston*. Mrs. Warren goes this Afternoon to Visit your Good Lady. I suppose they will have a Little Chat on the Subject of Politics. I am Your Assured Friend

J. Warren

Your beloved Town have had their Meeting for Choice of Representatives this Forenoon the only Alteration they have made is to leave out Mr. [John] Brown and [David] Jeffries and put in their places Deacon [William] Phillips and Mr. [John] Lowel. whether the Alteration be good, or whether they might not have made as good a one in some other way you can Judge.

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

James Warren to William Bingham Adams mss.

Plymouth, N. England, *May* 21, 1778

. . . . . .

We have no late Intelligence from the Army. The Operations of the Campaign had not Commenced when we last heard. We flatter ourselves it will Open and Conclude to our Advantage and place American Independence out of the reach of British Tyranny. Your favour by the Brigt. *Resistance* with the Inclosures have been received by the Navy Board. Capt. Thompson[1] is suspended and will be Tryed by a Court Martial. We wish for the return of Capt. Hinman[2] and his Officers. This is to be handed to you by Capt. Avery,[3] whose principal Business at Martineco is to Claim, and Obtain possession of the Sloop *America* in Behalf of the owners. This Sloop has been Intrusted to the Command of Capt. Coit[4] who after a short Cruise Carried her to Martineco, and there by his Infamous Conduct lost his own Life and left her in a Situation that has occasioned the owners this Trouble and Expence. Some of my Friends are Concerned in that Vessel; if you can Afford him any Assistance you will do an act of kindness to them, and oblige me. I am Sir with Respect Your Most Obed't Humble Serv't

J. Warren

Samuel Adams to James Warren

York Town, *May* 25, 1778

My dear Sir,— Your favor by Capt. Colter[5] overtook me on the Road; agreably to your Request I immediately on my Arrival here mentioned to a Gentlemen of the Marine Committee

1 Thomas Thompson.
2 Elisha Hinman.
3 Probably Samuel Avery of Milton. He had commanded the privateer *Eagle* in 1777 and the privateer *America*, the vessel of the text, in 1778.
4 William Coit. The owners of the *America* were of Plymouth, and their petition for a commission for Coit, dated September 20, 1777, is in the Massachusetts Archives.
5 Mr. Edmund C. Burnett has identified this name as that of Captain Harmon Courter, a bearer of despatches from Franklin.

the Necessity and Importance of keeping your Board duly supplyd with Cash to enable you effectually to do the Duty of your Department, and was told that 50m Dollars had been lately remitted to you. I will not fail to do what in me lies to forward that Service, as our Navy has always lain near my Heart.

I am exceedingly pleasd to find that our Army makes a much better Appearance than it has done since the Commencement of this War. It is very respectable in Point of Numbers and Discipline has been happily improvd by the Baron de Stuben who is appointed Inspector General with the Rank of Major General.[1] The invariable Accounts from Philadelphia are that the Enemy are making Preparations for an Embarkation, and it is expected they will soon leave that Place. Where they will proceed next you can as easily conjecture as we. I am not apprehensive of their visiting Boston; I wish however that more effectual Measures might be taken to strengthen and secure that Harbour and Town from Insult to which I think it is too much exposd.

I recollect that your Election of Councillors will come on the Day after tomorrow. Has Mr [Hancock] waited for the Event of that important Day?[2] or is he on his Journey to this Place? It is a Matter of so much uncertainty here, that Nothing, I suppose prevents many Wagers being laid upon it, but its being not of so much Moment as some others. Was he present here, he might, if he pleasd, vindicate me against a Report which has given Occasion to my Friends to rally me, that I have been called to Account and severely reprehended at a Boston Town Meeting for being in a Conspiracy against a very great Man [Washington].[3] You know how little I care for such Rumours. It is easy for me to conjecture by what Means it extended it self from Manheim, where I first heard it, to York Town; and it may not be difficult to guess how it came from Boston to that Place. Manheim is about twelve Miles

1 May 5. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI. 465.

2 Though a delegate to Congress Hancock did not attend until June 19, 1778. On July 9 he was granted leave of absence. On May 13 he had been elected a representative of Boston in the General Court.

3 Probably the subject was discussed in the Town Meeting of May 13 when a memorial to the General Court on the men supplied to the Continental Army was presented. *Boston Record Commission*, XXVI. 19.

East of the Susquehanna; there lives Mr. R. M.,[1] a very intimate Acquaintance of *my* excellent Friend. Mr. H. *is said* to be on the Road, but no one makes it *certain*. When he arrives Messrs. Gerry and Dana[2] propose to set off for N. England. I shall be mortified at their leaving us, for I verily think that the Accession even of *that* Gentleman will not make up for the Absence of the other two.

I am happy to find C[ongress] in perfect good humour and attentive to Business, though so hard put to it in this place, as hardly to have a Room a peice, in which to write a Letter to a Friend. It brings to my Mind the Circumstances and Temper of the old Deputies who sat down under a Tree to eat their Bread and Cheese. This is the Kind of Men who are the Terror of Tyrants. I hope I shall shortly be able to write you something of Importance, from the Army at least. In the meantime *Vale et me ama.*

[*No signature.*]

James Warren to Samuel Adams[3]

Boston, *May* 31, 1778

My Dear Sir, — The Papers will Inform you that I am no longer a Member of the General Court. My Town left me out, and the House did not take Notice enough of me to Elect me a Member of the Board and so saved me the Trouble of a refusal. your Curiosity will lead you to Enquire how my Town came to leave me out, and how the Interest I used to have in the House vanished and sunk on this occasion. it may not satisfy you to carry it to the Account only of the versatility and Caprice of Mankind. they have had their Effects, but they would not do alone. Envy and the Ambition of some people has aided them, and the policy or rather what you will Call the Cunning of a party here, who have

1 Robert Morris. This friendship for Hancock is noted in Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris*, 272.

2 Leave of absence to Dana was granted August 7, but Gerry remained through the year.

3 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

set up an Idol they are determined to worship with or without reason has had the greatest. they have even made use of the Tories to prevent my being Chose by my Town, who made their Appearance on this Occasion for the first Time for seven Years. The partiality of you and the rest of my friends has made me an object of great Importance with this party, and every thing is done to get me out of sight. in short the plan is to Sacrifise you and me to the Shrine of their Idol. I hope for the sake of the Character and Interest of our Country they wont Succeed against you. for myself I am Content to be as private a Man as they can make me. I have a Good Conscience that is all I want and of that they cant deprive me. I am not disappointed. I have all I expected you will see the List of the House and will form your own Expectations. I suppose my *Cousin* will be an Influential Member. with regard to the Constitution I am of the Opinion it will not prevail, and that Anarchy and Confusion will take place before we have one settled Your dear Town have with others lost their Compass and with it lost sight of their old principles and policy. they have acted accordingly upon this Occasion, while no Man can Entertain a reasonable prospect of getting a better form. the Small Pox is still lurking in Town and has made its Appearance in such a Manner as has alarmed the House. the Court is therefore Adjourned to Watertown. what else is done I cant say. No foreign News. we learn Philadelphia is Evacuated. where are they going next. some Conjecture to the West Indies while others think the North Rivers or Connecticut are the Object. we shall know soon. we have yet no Intelligence of the Arrival of the *Boston* I dont write to Mr. Gerry because I suppose he is on his way here. if still with you my regards to him. I shall write to Mr. Lovel. Doct'r Holton is waiting for General Hancock, who I hear took a pompous Leave of the House Yesterday by going up and shakeing Hands with the Speaker, etc., after moving for leave to return soon if his health would not admit of his Tarrying long. I suppose a Cavelcade will attend him, Subscriptions for that purpose haveing been Circulated for a week. I believe he will go Tomorrow. you will provide for his reception as you think fit. I am Your Assured Friend J. W.

SAMUEL ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

YORK TOWN, *June* 1, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you a few Days ago by Mr. Brailsford,[1] since which I have receivd your Favors of the 10th and 13th of May. The Arts you mention as being practicd by the Tories in Boston, to prejudice the People against our new Connections, are similar to those which I find on reading a late Philada. Paper, are practiced there. The Danger of Popery is particularly held up by the Partizans of that King, who would wish to drain Ireland of its Catholicks to carry on his bloody Purposes in America. I do not wonder that a certain Gentleman, though of the Character you have described, should joyn in such an objection. He may think it will give him Popularity among a particular class of Men, and serve *one* Purpose which I believe he has constantly in View; but I am satisfied that such a Suggestion will have a different Effect.

I have receivd several Letters from my Friend Dr. Lee since my Arrival here. Those by the Way of Boston are Duplicates, and contain Nothing of Importance more than what we receivd by Mr. Dean. I wish you would revive in the House of Representatives the Proposition which was made last Winter relating to that Gentleman.[2] I have an additional Reason inducing me to urge this Matter, which I will communicate to you at another Time, and which I am very sure you will approve of. At present I believe you are satisfied that it is both Policy and Justice that it should be done.

Congress has been pleasd to put me on the Marine Committee.[3] I mention this to you, in hopes that I shall have the Pleasure of receiving your Letters the oftener on that Account, and particularly on the Subject of the Navy, which I will use my utmost Endeavours to build up. The Committee have orderd a Letter to your Board by this Post. Capt. Burk [4] is to have the Command of the *Resistance* which may be a Step to further Promotion here-

1 Norton Brailsford. 2 For granting land to Lee in Massachusetts.
3 May 27, 1778.
4 William Bourke. Capt. Daniel Waters had refused the offer of the vessel.

after. The french Gentleman[1] who was *fed with Promises* at Boston and afterwards substantially relievd by you is highly esteemd by this Committee, and will be rewarded and employed, and Capt. Peck[2] is not unnoticed. The new Frigate at Salisbury, though before christened by another Name, has that of the *Alliance* given to her by the Committee. This Letter I intended to have finishd and forwarded by the Post, this Morning, (June 2) but was prevented. Capt. Barry who is to take the Command of the *Raughley* will deliver it to you. I am apprehensive for our Friend Mr. J. A. who if I mistake not had saild seven Weeks when the last Vessel left Nantz. The Bearer is in Haste. Adieu.

[*No signature.*]

Mercy Warren to James Warren

Plimouth, *June* 2, 1778

You, my Dearest Friend, who have so often heard me express my opinion of the folly, fickleness and ingratitude of mankind will not wonder when I tell you I am not at all surprised to see them forsake a man who for many years has at the expense of his own health and happiness uniformly aimed to promote their interest, but I own I did not expect to see your town so suddenly deviate from the principles they formerly professed.

I never supposed that in the midst of the contest and at the most critical period thereof they would suffer the inveterate enemies of this country to lift up their heads and openly oppose the measures and malign the men who have suffered so much in the public cause. Yet strange as it may appear one of the most subtile emissaries[3] of Britain and the most malignant of your foes was suffered yesterday in full meeting of the town to stand up and cast the most illiberal reflections on a man whose primary object has been to rescue these people from the thraldom of a foreign yoke and to preserve their rights against the machinations of the more dangerous enemies that lurk in their own bosoms. With this sole point in view how much fatigue and painful watching have

1 Pierre Landais. 2 A designer of vessels. 3 Ned Winslow the elder.

you sustained, and from your absence and sufferings how much anxiety have I felt and how many tears has it cost me. But you are now released by the suffrages of the people and stand acquitted to your God, your country and your conscience if you never engage again. I feel the highest pleasure from the knowledge of your integrity and the certainty I have that the voice of popularity was never a stimulus to any one action of your life. You have justly despised the breath of the vulgar and looked with contempt on those selfish wretches who lie in wait for the applause of the multitude and court adulation from every servile lip.[1]

How often has the young gentleman who is the bearer of this agreed with me in sentiment that the reward of patriotism was not in this world, and as he is just setting out in the craggy path of political strife may he conduct so as to reap the laurels due to unblemished virtue. But some say he has entered at the wrong end of the dangerous labyrinth yet I cannot believe him so lost to the noble feelings of friendship and honour as to unite with the enemies of his country to undermine a man I know he cannot but esteem and who from personal regard and a generous confidence in his profession of Whiggism has long considered Mr. G. Thomas in the light of a friend.

You will perhaps think me a little chagrined at the late conduct of your townsmen but it is not heightened. I have long felt so much indignation and disgust for the ingratitude and baseness of your constituents (a very few excepted) that I could scarce bear the reflection that you were sacrificing the best comforts of life, your domestic felicity to support the interests of those who stood ready to repay your indefatigable labour with undeserved execration.

I will now indulge the hope that your duty will not urge you in future to be much separated from your family, that we may shortly sit down in private tranquillity till Nature makes the last demand "when Conscience like a faithful friend Shall smooth the bed of death." I propose to go to Barnstable on Thursday. Shall spend the day with my father and when I return it will be in full

1 Thomas Nicholson was chosen to represent Plymouth in the Great and General Court.

expectation of meeting you in a day or two more. In addition to my wishes to see you and my purpose of returning with you I have still another weighty reason for urging your return next week as proposed. The meeting of this town for raising their quota of men by assignment stands adjourned to next Monday sevenight you will then have an opportunity once more to exert your abilities in favor of the wisest measures and if you think proper to thank people for the *late marks of respect* shown to a truly disinterested friend of his country.

Do you hear nothing from the *Boston* frigate. If Mr. Adams falls into the hands of foreign enemies he is to be pitied but less than those traduced by internal foes in the presence of friends who have not spirit enough to resent it. Don't you admire the late address of Congress;[1] but it is not the same people they addressed three years ago so that I fear it will have but little effect. I hope to hear from you soon and be assured notwithstanding the caprice of woman, the instability of man and every deformity in which human nature is exhibited in modern times, you will ever have a faithful friend in your affectionate

MARCIA

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

BOSTON, N. England, *June* 7th, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — We are yet in a State of Uncertainty whether you are Arrived in France or England, and Consequently whether you are now acting as an Embassador or suffering as Prisoner; all we know is that the last Ship from France brings no Account of you tho' you had been out seven weeks when she left Rockfort. The Enemy have Circulated a Report that the *Boston* was taken, and mention the Name of the Ship that Captured her:[2] but I don't Incline to give Credit to it, and think there are reasons to doubt it. As I think myself Interested in the Event, I am anxious to hear of your safe Arrival. Nothing for several weeks has got in from any part of Europe tho' the winds have been remarkably

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI. 474. 2 Adams, *Familiar Letters*, 338.

favourable. Our Curiosity is therefore wrought up to a high Key to hear what is passing in Europe, whether there be a declaration of War between France and England and whether any other Powers have Acknowledged our Independence, and Concluded a Treaty with us. Thus stand matters with regard to foreign News; with regard to domestic News, I am Informed by my Friends at Congress that our Army is very respectable both with regard to Numbers and discipline. The Baron de Stubun has performed wonders in regulating the discipline of the Army. They are well Cloathed, and well provided with Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition, and Congress have determined that the Officers who serve to the End of the War shall receive half pay for seven Years, and the Soldiers have eighty dollars, which has given satisfaction to the first and Contentment to the last, and prevented both resignations and desertions, but no Operations of Consequence have yet taken place. The Enemy have made one or two Excursions which the Papers we shall send you will give an Account of, but were by our last Accounts Immured in Philadelphia, and preparing to leave it. Where they will next go is a Subject of Conjecture: some think they will leave the Continent, others that North River, Connecticut or this State is their Object. No Material Alteration in our Currency, it is rather better. Goods of all kinds are much more plenty, some are cheaper but they don't yet fall in proportion to the demand for money which is become very Considerable, and I think must in time have its Effect. The produce of the Country is yet Extravagantly dear and is the principal Cause of keeping down the value of our Currency. The Countrymen have so long had the Advantage of high prices that they don't feel the want of money so much as the Merchants and Tradesmen. Connecticut as well as some other States have passed a regulating Act which operates much as ours did. They are Nevertheless obstinate in Adhering to it, and have sent down a Committee to Induce our Court to come into the Measure. this Session many Members I hear are fond of it. It stands at present suspended for an Answer to a Letter wrote Congress. The Court met here and frighted with the Appearance of danger of the Small Pox, after Election Adjourned to Watertown, where they now are. The

Papers will Announce to you that I am no longer a Member of the General Court. My Town did not chose me, and the Court did not Compliment me with an Election at the Board, so that, were I dismiss'd from the Navy Board, I should be truly a private Man, and an Independent Farmer, and should be as Contented and satisfied with my situation as ever you saw one, for really I am Tired of public Life, tho' I was determined never to desert the Colours I helped to hoist. If you Enquire how all this came to pass I must tell you it is oweing to various Causes. The people feel themselves uneasy and don't know the reason, they have therefore shifted their Members more generally than ever. I scorned to make or suffer any Influence in my favour. The Tories and the Influence from Boston, and some other places had their full play, which are the reasons I am not in the House. The greater part of the C[ourt] from Envy, and other reasons never loved me, and the Complextion of the House, Consisting of Members (the most Influential of them) whose politicks are very different from mine, and who are of the moderate Class which you know I never belonged to, may account for my not being Elected. But above all the partiality of my Friends which has rendered me Obnoxious to a Certain great Man,[1] and his numerous party by holding me up to view in Competition with him, the Policy therefore has been to get me out of sight and prevent my being an Obstacle to his Glory and Ambition. The returns are not yet made from the several Towns of their Approbation or Disapprobation of the Form of Government sent to them, but I believe it is pretty Clear that the Majority have decided against it in much less time than the Convention took to decide in its favour. The Town of Boston (whose wise Observations you will see in the Papers)[2] and the County of Essex have had a great Share, and Influence in this Determination, for you must know it has become very popular to find fault with the doings of the General Court or Convention, by those who can't mend them, and a little Clamour much more a great one may easily damn any measure good or Bad. The Great Man Tarried here till after Election, and then went off with the Pomp and retinue of an Eastern Prince. I was not in the List of

1 Hancock. 2 *Boston Record Commission*, XXVI. 22.

his Attendants and was not Solicitous enough to officiously offer my service, and to receive that Honour. I suppose the Sin is unpardonable. I must suffer the consequences of his frowns, and be Content to be ranked among those who never Adulate and flatter. Your Friend Adams is at Congress. Gerry and Dana propose to return when Mr. Hancock and Doct'r Holton who is your *Successor* Arrive. This is the third Letter I have wrote you since your departure. I hope the others as well as this will reach you. This is to go by a packet that Carries public Letters for you and the other Commissioners or rather Embassadors, the Captain of which is to deliver them to you in Person, so that the danger of the Seas Excepted, the Opportunity is fine. I have accordingly Informed your Lady of it, and Expect her Letters in Tomorrow which I presume will Inform you that the Family are well. My Love to Master John, and believe me to be with Great Sincerity Your Assured Friend and Humble Serv't,

J. Warren

Samuel Adams to James Warren

York Town, *June* 13, 1778

My dear Sir, — Since my last I have seen a List of the new Councillors and Representatives of our State. I am sorry to find that your Name is not in the List. I presume you declind the Choice, which I still very much disapprove of, for Reasons you have before heard me mention.

By the inclosd News Paper you will see that the Scene begins to open. You may depend upon it that Congress will not attend to any Propositions until Independence is acknowledgd. The Day before yesterday, we were informd by a Letter from General Washington that Sr. H. Clinton had requested a Passport for Dr. Ferguson,[1] Secretary to the British King's Commissioners, who was chargd with a Letter from them to Congress; and that he had acquainted Sr. Harry that he could not grant the Request till he should receive the Directions of Congress. In the Midst of a

1 Adam Ferguson (1723–1816).

Debate on the Report of a Committee on this Subject, the Letters were brought in, having been receivd by our General and forwarded. This Mode of Conveyance suited the Inclination of the House, they being, as I thought, at that Juncture ready to assent to a Proposition approving of the General's Conduct in refusing to grant a Passport to the *Messenger*, and expressing themselves content that he should receive the Message and send it by a Messenger of his own.

The Contents of the Letter, as far as they were read appeard extraordinary indeed, and show'd plainly that their Design was to draw us back to a Subjection to their King. Some Expressions in the Letter gave particular Disgust to all the Members. The House adjournd till Monday when I think I may assure you the Subject will be treated with becoming Spirit and Propriety.

I wish you would speak to some leading Member in the House of Representatives relating to the Resolution which was offerd concerning Dr. Lee. I have a Reason which strongly influences me to wish that such a Resolution may now pass. Justice and Policy as well as Gratitude require it. There are a few bad Men, one of whom you are not unacquainted with, who, so far from desiring that Respect should be shown to that patriotic and highly deserving Gentleman would rejoyce to see him disgrac'd.

My friendly Regards to your good Lady and all Friends. Adieu.

[*No signature.*]

Samuel Adams to James Warren

York Town, *June* 19, 1778

My dear Sir, — I have Time only to write you a few Words by Captn. Landais who is appointed by Congress to the Command of the new Ship of War *Alliance*. This Gentleman is esteemd for his Experience and Knowledge in Marine Affairs and will go first to Portsmouth to direct in the Construction of the Ship designd to be built there. I wish you would (with the other Gentlemen of your Board) assist him with a popular as well as able Lieutenant:

popular; because as he is a frenchman, it may be difficult for him to procure a sufficient Number of American Seamen. He is in hopes of geting french Sailors out of the Vessels that are or may be at Boston, etc.

I will by the next Post send you a full Account of our late Transactions with the British Peace Makers which conclude with confirming on our Part our former Resolutions.

We have just recd. Advice that the Enemy have totally evacuated Philadelphia and we expect every moment to have the News confirmd. Mr. Hancock and Dr. Holton are arrivd. The last mentiond deliverd me a Letter from you which I will more fully acknowledge in my next. Adieu my Friend.

S. Adams

Samuel Adams to James Warren

York Town, *June* 20, 1778

Dear Sir, — In my Letter of yesterday's date (by Capt. Landais) I promisd to write again by the next Post, and give you a full Account of our Transactions with the British Peace Makers. Cap. Landais after the ensealing of my Letter obtaind a News Paper which he intends to deliver to you. That will answer the Purpose. The President has informd us of an opportunity previous to the Post which I readily embrace. It gave me much Concern to find an omission of your Name in both Houses of Assembly. I indulged Hopes that it was occasiond by your Time and Attention being so much employd in the Affairs of the Continent, and am sorry that an Opportunity was not afforded to you of declining a Seat, if you had thought it necessary, on that occasion. But, my Friend, you must expect and be content to be now and then neglected when the Influence of aspiring but worthless Men shall prevail in an Hour while your own and your Countrys Friends are unsuspecting and unguarded. Believe me, you cannot long be unnoticed by your Country, while she remains virtuous and wise; when a People becomes so abandond (which I trust is far from being the Case of our Country) as to be not worth saving, no wise

Patriot will further attempt to save them. He will then seek a Place of Retreat where he may enjoy the happy Reflections of his own Mind, and count a private Station the highest Post of Honor. But — the Express waits, which obliges me to break off abruptly. Heaven knows best, how to dispose of you and me. Adieu.

S. A——

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

BOSTON, *June* 26, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — I have had the great pleasure of receiving your several favours, per Blaisford, Capt. Barry, and one by an Unknown hand. I am Glad to find you so well pleased with the Situation of the Army, and the doings of Congress for you know I ever Entertain an Opinion that things are right when they go according to your mind. I Expect very soon to have an Account under your hand, of the reception Congress gave to the proposals of the British Commissioners, and of their Ultimate determinations on them and their silly Errand. we expect the Dignity of Congress will Appear with great Lustre on this Occasion. we have handed about in this Town a List of their proposals, but I cant suppose they are Genuine. they are Indeed too Contemptible even for the British Administration to be the Authors of. My Letter per Mr. Collins which I presume has reached you before now will Inform you that I did not leave my station in the Political Ship before the Gale was over, or fly from those Colours I helped you and some few other Good Patriots to Hoist. You know I have been on Deck for twelve Years, and I believe you will not be able with all your discernment and Watchfulness to recollect an Instance of my flinching. I was left out by my Town, without an Ostensible reason to give. I was not Noticed by the two Houses for reasons best known to themselves. the Mutability of Mankind, the Enmity of the Tories united with the Intrigues of a party you are acquainted with must Account for it. I will only Inform you that the Bar Seat had a large Share in this matter, and some of them that you would hardly suspect. this may be adding In-

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

gratitude to Witchcraft, as my whole Conduct has been Uniformly favourable to your Town, and if you will not Construe it into vanity I will tell you I have sometimes thought I did them as much service as any Representative they have had since you left the House. You and I have been Companions the whole Vo[yage]. I have now the Honour to be the Object of the same rancour, and the victim of the same Intrigue and policy as against you. however I am Content with regard to myself if your Interest is Secured. with regard to your Friend Dr. Lee I took Care early in the Session to Apply to some Members to have the Business done. the Court is now Adjourned to September. I question whether it is done, tho' I am not certain. I was promised but as they set out of Town, I had not the Advantage of pursueing the matter. I will not forget or Neglect it. but you are to Consider that I and my Applications may for a while be treated with Neglect, and if you will permit me to use Metaphors suggested by the Nature of my Business, A New Crew is Ship'd and the principle direction fallen into hands whose Seamanship we did not use to Esteem, and who for want of Fortitude never dared to go aloft to view the fair and open Coast before them, or to Examine and Ascertain the strength of the Ship and how well she was Constructed and fitted for the Voyage. Millions of such Seamen never would have Conducted her to the Lattitude and Longitude she is now in. but enough of this your own reflections I dare say Exhibit pictures much more to the Life.

I am Extremely Glad to find you on the Marine Committee, for Notwithstanding you have not been used to Naval Matters, I conceive you will do great Service there. I shall write to you often the little time I shall be connected with you in that Station, and very freely, for the Subject must be better Understood, and more Attended to, or the Navy given up, though I conceive it will soon be more Important and more necessary than an Army. did your Committee attend to this matter would they write us that they hoped 50,000 dollars would supply all our demands for some time. we received that Money. we have recv'd the greatest part of 80,000. dollars we drew for in favour of Mr. Shaw,[1] and this Morn-

1 Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., Continental Agent at New London, Connecticut.

ing we had not a 100 dollars in the office, and if Capt. Bradford [1] had not been good enough to Supply us with £1000. we could not have paid the Bounty to Seamen this day Entered. we must stop payment of all Bills, however reasonable or Justly due, or however hard we are duned. where to look next, or what is to be done next week I know not. this is Indeed Embarrassing. why Sir we want 500,000 dollars if it be meant we should do any thing to purpose. is it feared we shall Squander profusely, or apply fraudulently. our Accounts will be at any time ready in three days for the strictest Scrutiny. I am, my Friend, also Mortified, and it is hard to be both perplexed and Mortified, while we work for Nothing, and spend necessarily more than our pay. Many things take place to make me feel very small in this office, to say nothing of our Inability to Answer the Expectations of the public and of their never knowing the reason. why when you have Appointed Captains in the Navy cant it be left to us to say which shall go in any Ship here on a vacancy and while we and every Body else sees the service suffering, must we wait for an Appointment from the Marine Committee. they Expect the *Raleigh* is prepared for the Sea. but two days ago a Captain for her Arrived here, and every Body acquainted with Seamen must know they will not Engage in a Ship till they know the Captain. the public have Clamoured. to save our Reputation we have been obliged to take pains to let it be known, that you dare not trust us so far. the Brigantine *Resistance* has lai[n] some time, to get her to sea we appointed or rather ordere[d] Capt. Olney to take Command of her. he is a deserving Officer, and I think would make a figure in a better Vessel. he readily obeyed and things were going on finely. An Appointment arrives for Burke. he may be a good officer but besides the Mortification to us, the Brigantine will be delayed. My favourite plan was to get a Number of these Vessels to Sea in Company. Your Committee have Approved, and desired it, but how is it possible. the *Raleigh* would have been ready for the Sea, if she had a Captain. she has now no Men. you have Appointed a Good one. I believe we shall Man her soon, but the *Warren* is almost Manned. Must she wait for her. I wish you would make

1 John Bradford, Continental Agent at Boston.

that a Question and give me an Answer. Why when you have packets of Importance to be sent to your Commissioners must they go through the hands of the Council of this State in *Vessels provided by us.* are your own Immediate Officers, Insufficient for such a purpose? if not it seemed a more regular Channel of Conveyance. if they are you may form a Board here of persons as Competent to that or any other purpose as the Council, and I will be ready to resign and make way for such an Appointment. I wont mention some other Instances because I wont be tedious. I own I am a proud fellow, but after all it is a subordinate passion to my Wishes for the Good of the Voyage. I am well pleased that you have given a Name to the New frigate at Salisbury, and that it is a *New One.*

I hope our Friend Adams is safe arrived we hear so, and believe it. twenty-two days after they were out, they took perhaps the richest prize that has been made this War. she was retaken on this Coast and Carried to Hallifax, within fourteen hours sail of this Port. she made some resistance. Our Friend would keep the Deck, and shew great Marks of Courage, tho the first Shot cut away the Mizen Topsail or Cross Jack Yard over his head. I suppose my Good Friend, Mr. Gerry, is now on the road, as General Hancock must have been with you some time ago. my Expectations of it for some time past have prevented my writeing to him. if he should be still detained with you, please to Assure him of my Invariable Friendship, and tell him the reasons I have not wrote him lately. I have only to Add, Compliments to all Friends, and am Assuredly Yours

[*No signature.*]

Did Coll Lee Receive the Jesuits Bark in safety.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *June* 28, 1778

My Dear Sir, — The Navy was the principal Subject of a long and perhaps tedious Letter two days ago which I suppose will go

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

with this. if it requires an Apology I will tell you it was wrote in perfect Composure, and good Humour and in Justification of the familiarity I used that it was wrote to you as a friend not as one of my Masters. I intend the Cheif Subject of this shall be the Army. the takeing of Burgoyne and his Army was certainly a glorious Event for America, but I cant help considering it as a Misfortune to us that this State was pitched upon as the place of their Captivity, especially as they are detained here so much longer than was at first expected. under every restriction that Whig Principles and true policy would dictate they would have many Oppertunities by their Arts and Intrigues to Encourage and Confirm the Ungodly, and to Shake the Confidence of the faithful. what then is to be Expected from an Excess of Complaisance productive of Unbounded Indulgence but a perfect Knowledge of our Country, a Conciliation of the Affections of our simple Countrymen to their Murtherers discord, and an Estrangement from their true Friends, the prevalence of Toryism and every evil work. One Regiment more only is yet removed to Rutland since you left us. was it ever Expected that there should be a free open Communication between Cambridge and Rutland and their Officers suffered to pass and repass at pleasure and to come into this Town. did you ever suppose that our General would dine with theirs on the Tyrants Birth day, and I presume of course drink his Health. did you Imagine that Politeness had risen to such a pitch that Gen'l Phillips and some of his officers were in return Invited on a party of pleasure down this Harbour, and that when he Excused himself because the officers of a Regiment to March to Rutland the day after that Appointed for the frolick were to dine with him on that day, the March was offered to be postponed to another, etc., etc. I do assure you my Friend an old Roman Republican would make an Awkward figure here in these days of refinement, and might Exclaim O Tempora, O Mores, till his Heart acked without any Effect. I wish for my part these Troops were properly treated and restrained or dismiss'd on their own Terms. We have no News but from the Southward. as all the Armies are said to be in motion we Expect great Events. have you a single Member that deserves the Character of Insolent, Overbearing, and dogmatical.

if not will vanity, Ambition, or popularity without Merit atone for giveing it. Will you in your next give me the Character of Mr. M[ar]ch[an]t. I am always pleased with your pictures. I trouble you no More at this Time than to desire your Care of the Inclosed Letters and to deliver them with my regards to the Young Gentleman they are directed to.

Adieu says your Friend,

[*No signature.*]

Capt. Burke hesitated about accepting Command of the Brigantine but has done it at last. the prejudices of the Officers here against him are great. as you have patronized him I hope he will turn out an honest man. he has desired a Court of Enquiry into his Conduct dureing his Captivity.

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

BOSTON, N. England, *July* 1st, 1778

SIR, — I have wrote you several long Letters since you left us, some of which you will doubtless by the Enemy be releiv'd from the trouble of reading. My last was by Capt. Barnes about fourteen days ago, at a time when we had reason to be anxious for your safety. Two days ago for the first time we were Ascertained of the safe Arrival of the *Boston* and of your being in Paris. This Intelligence we have by a Packet from France in forty-six days, which brought public and private Letters. I am told there are Letters from you tho' I have not the Honour and Happiness of being Numbered among those to whom they are directed. I suppose the public Letters that go by this Conveyance with the Gazettes we shall Inclose will give you all the News of this Country. Great Expectations are formed here from the Circumstances and Situation of our own Army, and that of the Enemy. We have no Cruisers on our Coasts at this Time they are all Called into Hallifax where they are in the Horrors from the Apprehension of a French Fleet said to be in these Seas, tho' we have yet no particular Account of them. By this Means our prizes and

Merchantmen have a fine Chance to get in, and they succeed Accordingly. This Vessel goes of so suddenly that I fear Mrs. Adams will not hear of this opportunity to write. If she does not it may be some satisfaction to you to be Informed that she is well. I am obliged to Conclude and am Your Assured Friend and Humble Serv't,

J. Warren

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *July* 5, 1778

My Dear Sir, — I have wrote you very lately and very lengthy. if they come so fast as to be Troublesome, you will give me Notice and I will stop my hand. The Army was the principle Subject of my last. I will now in turn give you a few more of my Sentiments with regard to the Navy. The Manning and dispatch of your Ships here depend very much on the Character of the Commanders. all we can do seems to little purpose, unless the Captains and Officers are popular, and such as the Seamen have a Confidence in. Capt. Burke may be a good Officer, but there are suspicions subsisting and a certain unpopular air and manner in his Behaviour that has Occasioned those Men who Intended to go in that Brigantine to leave her, and I fear in spite of every thing I can do it will be long before she goes to Sea. This Appointment seems to be a matter of Speculation, and as the Service is retarded by it gives great occasion for the observations of the Speculators. but Nothing has afforded a more ample subject for those People and for the resentment of the Navy Officers than the late Appointment of Capt. Landais to the *Alliance*. I am afraid this will be productive of much Confusion and Mischief. he is an Ingenuous and well Behaved Man. I am pleased to see him taken Notice of, but this Appointment seems to be marked with some degree of Enthusiasm. you have certainly Exceeded his Expectations if not wishes, and have you done Justice to some Exceeding good officers here, who have *older* Commissions than his, and with their

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

Familys been long starving on their bare pay. Manley, Olney, and Waters have reason to suppose themselves Neglected, especially the first, as he was made acquainted that the Marine Committee (as they wrote us) Intended that Ship for him if he was Honourably acquitted by a Court Martial. Capt. Landais when he went from here seemed to Expect no more than some kind of Superintendency in the Construction of Ships. there are two very good Lieutenants in that Ship but I am told they will both leave her and the service. I fear he will never man her unless with Frenchmen and I suppose that would hardly be Agreable to Congress. she is much the finest Frigate you have had. however my Exertions shall not be wanting more especially as I find there is an Opinion that you was his chief Patron. Capt. Manley will hand you this. he is a Blunt, Honest, and I believe Brave Officer. he was first in the Service, and merited much by his Conduct. I hope therefore he will be continued and satisfied, more especially as he is extreemly popular with Officers, and Seamen, and can Man a Ship with dispatch when a Man as deserving could do nothing in that way, which is an Object you must attend to or be content to have your Ships lay in Port. Capt. Barry's Character stands high, and his Conduct is agreable. I think therefore we shall have but little difficulty in Maning his Ship tho' he is a Stranger.

Capt. McNeil is gone to make you a Visit. his Address is Insinuating, and his Assurance great. he may tell you fine Storys, but be Assured he has had as fair and Impartial a Trial as a Man ever had, and as much Tenderness and delicacy both in the prosecution and Sentence as he ought to wish for. We have frequently wrote for an Establishment for Pursers, and Pilots. the Service suffers for want of it. do see it done both with regard to wages and prize money, and Expedite the other Business we have wrote about perticularly send us Money. We Celebrated the 4th of July here yesterday with great parade and festivity. we have no News here we long to hear how matters stand with the Army and where the French Fleet are. I am with regards to all Friends Yours Assuredly,

[*No signature.*]

Did you ever propose an Allowance of Hay and Oates for our Horses since we have been in this Service. our Board and Horse-keeping has from the begining cost us more than our pay, and since last December we have been at least a dollar a day out of pocket. the Service is hard enough. the least that could be done is to afford us support here, if we are not Enabled to take any kind of Care of our Familys. we are Obliged to give Carpenters, Riggers and some other Tradesmen five dollars a day, while we have but about four. *Ceteris paribus* they have the Advantage of us. they are at Home with their Familys, we are Abroad and Absent from ours. your Resolve about the Frenchman's Pendant is thought very Extraordinary. it is a great Triumph to the Skippers, and is Improved with some marks of Insult, and is mortifying to your own Officers. if it is a fact that our Ships are allowed to wear their pendants in the Ports of France in presence of Men of War, all the officers lately there give us wrong Information, and certain it is one of your Vessels of War lately at Martinico [was] not permitted to wear her pendant, to the Mortification of Capt. Chew, who was a Man of great Spirit. I hope proper respect will be paid to the Judgment of Courts Martial, and their Sentences never altered but where Errors, fraud, Injustice or partiality plainly appear.

A French Cutter now here fires a morning and Evening Gun.

Samuel Adams to James Warren

Philada., *July* 14, 1778

My dear Sir, — I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your favors of the 26th and 28th of June. I have long been apprehensive, *you* know, that false Ideas of Politeness would injure the Minds of our Countrymen and prove destructive to Morals and Liberty. But I own, I did not expect that the most ridiculous Folley would have taken so early and large a Stride as it appears to have done in the Instance you mention. It cannot in my opinion be supported by any Principles of Truth and Propriety and discovers a Degree of Servility shocking to sober Humanity.

And yet a Conduct so void of common Sense will find Advocates among many who never had and never can have a Spark of that Republican Feeling which you have always possessd. These People are formd to be Asses and Slaves; Let them remain so. But surely they ought not to be advanced to places of Influence, to spread by their Examples, the Principles of Servility and Slavery among the People. I will take an Opportunity when I am at Leisure to answer your Letter of the 26, which I have communicated to my Friend Colo. Lee. Yesterday I made a short Visit to Monsr. Gerard. If I can form any Judgm[en]t of him, his Manners would suit our Country. But I expect to be better acquainted with him soon. Mr. H[ancock] has asked and obtaind Leive of Absence and is going home! Adieu.

S. A——

Samuel Adams to James Warren

Philada., *July* 15, 1778

My dear Sir, — Mr. H[ancock] informs me that he will certainly set off for Boston immediately after Dinner, and being now in Congress I have Time only to write you a short Letter.

The Sieur Gerrard, will soon have an Audience in Congress in the stile of "Minister Plenopotentiary of his most Christian Majesty the King of France." Would you think that one so little of the Man of the World as I am should be joynd in a Committee to settle Ceremonials? It is however of some Importance that we agree upon Forms that are adapted to the true *republican* Principles; for this Instance may be recurrd to as a Precedent in Futurity.[1]

The Articles of Confederation were signd last Week by seven [eight] States. North Carolina has sent a full Ratification of it, so the Members of that State will sign when they arrive which is expected in a few Days. Congress has written a Letter to the

1 The Committee was composed of Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Adams and Gouverneur Morris. They reported on July 17 but the report was debated and the final form adopted on July 20. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xi. 688, 698, 707.

States of Georgia, Maryland, Delaware and Jersey pressing them to authorize their Delegates to joyn in this most necessary Transaction. I believe there will [be] no Difficulty except with Maryland, and she will finally accede. The Articles have undergone no Alterations.

The french Minister arrivd in this City on Lords Day, and the day following, last Monday the Delegates of Massachusetts Bay paid him their Complements in Form. I know not that those of any other State have observd this Ceremony. It appeard to us highly proper. We were receivd with Politeness, and heard some handsome Things said of the State we have the Honor to represent.

The Minister plenipotentiary deliverd to Congress a Letter from his Sovereign expressd in the strongest Terms of Affection and Friendship.

I can at present add no more than to inform you, that your Nephew,[1] the Son of my old Friend James Otis Esq, came into this City a few Days ago with the Intention of purchasing some Necessaries, but being destitute of Cash his Friends were under a Necessity of Supplying him with the Sum of twenty pounds Lawful Money for the Repayment of which I have taken his written Request to his Grandfather, agreably to his own Proposal. I have indorsed the order and inclosd it in this Letter. I know not whether this will altogether meet with Approbation; I was the rather inclind to interest myself for this young Gentleman, because I have been satisfactorily informd that he has behavd well in his military Character. I gave my best Advice respecting his *Morals*. When you receive the Money you will please to repay to Mr. Hancock fourteen Dollars and thirteen and two thirds to Mr. Dana, (both which Gentlemen will be at Boston shortly) and the Remainder to Mrs. A., upon Notice of which I will account with two other Gentlemen concernd, Mr. Holten and Colo. Pickering. I remain your very affectionate

S. A——

Mr. Dana desires his particular Respects to you.

1 Probably James Otis, an ensign in Col. Henry Jackson's regiment.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

BOSTON, *July* 17, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — I suppose I may now Congratulate you on your return to your *Antient and most Convenient Seat* Philadelphia. I hope you will now possess it at least as long as you please. we are told the Enemy have suffered great loss in their passage from Philadelphia to York, tho' I could wish they had suffered a Compleat defeat. we have a report of Town that the French Fleet have arrived at the Delaware. I think it high Time to hear of their Arrival somewhere. I hope they will do great service. it is said they are under the directions of Congress. you can hardly Conceive the Uncertainty we have been in about the Military Operations. Gen'l Lee has one day been Exalted by Applauses to the Starrs, and the next Condemned for Capital Offences: at least to the Tryal of a Court Martial for them. We have not a word of News that I can give you, every thing remains here as it did. I shall therefore trouble you no further at this time than to recommend to your Notice and that of my other Friends Capt. Green [2] the Bearer of this, who came from France as Commander of the *Queen of France*, and has in all respects Behaved as a Gentleman, and a Friend to America. I Expect a Packet from you soon. I am sure if Numbers and length of Letters are a proper Charge against you the Ballance is against you. I have wrote to your Committee per this Conveyance. do attend to our Letters. I am forced to ask for so many things that I cant repeat them. My best regards to Mr. Gerry and Mr. Lovel. I dont write to the first because I Expect him every day. I am in haste. Your Friend etc.[3]

J. W.

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library. 2 John Green.
3 Letters from Samuel Adams to James Warren, July 20 and 25, 1778, are in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 41, 45.

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN ADAMS MSS.

PASSI, *July* 26, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — Yours of [7] June by Captain Barnes fortunately reached me yesterday. I was much surprised, you may well imagine, at its Contents. But I suppose the Cause of their not electing you to the Council must have been your engagements in the Navy Board.

I am unhappy to learn by the Newspapers that our Constitution is likely to occasion much Alteration in the State, but notwithstanding all our Dissentions, there is a Mass of Prudence and Integrity among our People that will finally conduct them into the right way.

I wish now that I had accepted of your polite offer of your Son. It is however for his Interest, because he may pursue Business there to much better Profit. If Mr. Austin should leave me, I should have occasion for a Clerk, which would afford a young Gentleman a decent subsistence and no more. The Frigates, the Merchandise, the Negotiations and the vast Correspondence we have, render a Clerk indispensably necessary for each of the Commissioners, and for some of them more than one.

Mr. Hancock, Mr. Adams and my respectable successor, Dr. Holten, are gone to Congress, but you don't mention Mr. Paine. Where is he? Earning Twenty thousand dollars a year at the Bar? If he is I wish him Joy and hope in time to arrive at some Part of the same Honour and Profit. Dane, I suppose, is earning Thirty thousands. Upon my word, I think these Gentry ought to throw their Profits into Hotchpotch with a poor Brother at Passi. Where is the Spirit and the Genius of America? To suffer the feeble Remnants of our Enemies in Philadelphia and Rhode Island to come out with such Insolence and burn Houses and Vessels without Retaliation is intolerable.

Will it ever do to think of Race while Great Britain has Canada, Nova Scotia and the Floridas, or any of them? Such a Race will be but short. We shall have perpetual Wars with Britain while she has a foot of Ground in America. But if the belligerent Powers shall be exhausted so as to think of Race, leaving Canada in the

Hands of Britain, which I hope they will not, the Boundaries of Canada must be ascertained, and of the Floridas too.

I believe I can tell you a Piece of News. The Cabinet at London have determined to send to their Commissioners in America Instructions to offer you Independence, provided you will make Peace with them separate from France and make a commercial Treaty with them, by which they may retain something like their late Monopoly.

They certainly think that Americans are not Men of Honour. They believe them capable of violating their first Treaty, their first solemn sacred Faith, within a few Moments of its unanimous Ratification. Is it because they have seen, or heard, anything like this Perfidy in Americans, or is it because they feel themselves capable of such Conduct and infer from thence that all other Men are equally so?

Is there a Man in America who would not run all Hazards, who would not suffer the last Extremity, rather than stain the first Page of our History with so foul a Breach of Faith? Is there [one] who would confess and prove to the World that America has no Honour, no Confidence, no faith, no Piety for the sake of avoiding the Evils of War?

But where and how did the King and Council obtain Authority to make such an offer? They have no such Power. Parliament alone can do it.

But they mean no such Thing. They mean only to seduce soldiers to Desertion. They mean only to draw in Congress or some public Body to break their Faith with France, and to do the same Act which shall forfeit the Confidence of all Mankind, and then they think they can manage America. Their object in this Piece of Policy, as in all their others towards America, appears to me to be to seduce, to deceive, and to divide. They must, however, be brought to mingle some sincerity with their Policy before they will succeed. I am as ever, yours.

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

PASSY, *August* 4, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — Your kind Favor of July 1st was brought here Yesterday from Bordeaux where Capt. Ayres has arrived, but was not deliver'd me till this day, this is only the second received from you. I have infinite Satisfaction in learning from all parts of America the prosperous Train of our Affairs and the Unanimity and Spirit of the people. Every Vessel brings us fresh Occasions of Ardour to the French and of Depression to the English in the War that is now begun in earnest.

The Resolutions of Congress upon the conciliatory Bills, the Address to the People the Ratification of the Treaty, the Answer to the Commissioners, the President's Letter, the Message of G[overnor] Livingston and the Letter of Mr. Drayton are read here with an Avidity that would surprise you. It is not one of the least Misfortunes of Great Britain, that she has to contend with so much Eloquence, that there are such Painters to exhibit her attrocious Actions to the World and transmit them to posterity, every publication of this kind seems to excite the Ardour of the French Nation and of their Fleets and Armies, as much as if they were Americans.

While American Orators are thus employed in perpetuating the Remembrance of the Injustice and Cruelty of G. Britain towards us, the French Fleet has been giving such a Check to her naval Pride as she has not experienced before for many Ages. The Vessel which is to carry this will carry Information of a general Engagement between D'Orvielliers and Keppell, which terminated in a disgraceful Flight of the British Fleet.[1] We hope soon to hear of D'Estaing's Success which would demonstrate to the Universe that Britain is no longer Mistress of the Ocean. But the Events of War are always uncertain and a Misfortune may have happen'd to the French Fleet in America. But even if this should be the Case, which I dont believe, still Britain is not Mistress of

1 July 27. The maneuver failed because of Sir Hugh Palliser's neglect of Keppel's orders.

the Sea, and every day will bring fresh proofs that she is not. The Springs of her Naval power are dried away.

I have hitherto had the Happiness to find that my Pulse beat in exact Unison with those of my Countrymen. I have venturd with some Freedom to give my Opinion what Congress would do with the Conciliatory Bills, with the Commissioners with the Treaty, etc., etc., and every packet brings us proceedings of Congress, according in Substance, but executed in a Manner infinitely exceeding my Abilities.

Nothing has given me more Joy than the Universal Disdain that is expressed both in public and private Letters at the Idea of Departing from the Treaty and violating the public Faith. This Faith is our American Glory, and it is our Bulwark, it is the only Foundation on which our Union can rest securely, it is the only Support of our Credit both in Finance and Commerce, it is our sole Security for the Assistance of Foreign powers. If the British Court with their Arts could strike it or the Confidence in it we should be undone forever. She would triumph over us after all our Toil and Danger; she would subjugate us more intirely than she ever intended. The Idea of Infidelity cannot be treated with too much Resentment or too much Horror. The Man who can think of it with Patience is a Traitor in his Heart, and ought to be execrated as one who adds the deepest Hypocrisy to the blackest Treason.

Is there a sensible Hypocrite in America who can start a Jealousy that Religion may be in danger, and from whence can this arise? not from France. She claims no Inch of Ground upon your Continent, she claims no legislative Authority over you, no negative upon your Laws, no Right of appointing you Bishops, nor of sending you Missionaries. Besides the Spirit for cruisading for Religion is not in France. The Rage of making Proselytes which has existed in former Centuries is no more. There is a Spirit more liberal here in this Respect than I expected to find. Where has been the danger to the Religion of the protestant Cantons of Switzerland from an Alliance with France, which has subsisted with entire Harmony for 150 Years or thereabouts. But this Subject is fitter for Ridicule than serious Argument, as

nothing can be clearer than that in this enlighten'd tollerant Age, at this vast Distance, without Claim or Colour of Authority, with an express Acknowledgement and Warranty of Sovereignty, this, I had almost said tollerant Nation can never endanger our Religion.

The longer I live in Europe and the more I consider our Affairs the more important our Alliance to France appears to me. it is a Rock upon which we may safely build. narrow and illiberal prejudices peculiar to John Bull, with which I might perhaps have been in some degree infected when I was John Bull, have now no Influence with me. I never was however much of John Bull. I was John Yankee and such I shall live and die. Is G. Britain to be annihilated? No such thing. A Revolution in her Government may possibly take place, but whether in Favor of Despotism or Republicanism is the Question. The Scarcity of Virtue and even the Semblance of it seems an invincible Obstacle to the latter. But the Annihilation of a Nation never takes place. It depends wholly on herself to determine whether she shall sink down into the Rank of the middling powers of Europe or whether she shall maintain the second place in the Scale, if she continues this War the first will be her Fate, if she stops short in her mad Career and makes peace she may still be in the second predicament. America will grow with astonishing Rapidity and England France and every other Nation in Europe will be the better for her prosperity. Peace which is her dear Delight will be her Wealth and her glory, for I cannot see the Seed of a War with any part of the World in future but with Great Britain, and such States as may be weak enough, if any such there should be, to become her Allies. That such a peace may be speedily concluded and that you and I may return to our Farms to enjoy the Fruits of them, spending our old Age in recounting to our Children the Toils and Dangers we have encounter'd for their Benefit is the Wish of Your Friend and very humble Servant,

John Adams

Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir, — As Mr. Dana purposes to set off early tomorrow Morning I am unwilling to omit writing a Letter to you to be deliverd by him. I part with him with great Reluctance, because I esteem him a very valuable Member of Congress. It is a Consolation to me that he has a Seat in the General Assembly, where I am satisfied he will be greatly instrumental in promoting the Reputation and true Interest of our Country. I sincerely regret that you have not a Seat there; nevertheless I hope you will not withdraw your Influence, which though not a Member, you may employ for the publick Good. There are yet remaining some of the old Patriots who have long struggled with you against the publick Enemies. You will derive to yourself great Delight by a Recapitulation, of past Scenes, in a Circle of such Friends, and by joyning with them in further Efforts, you may make your self still more servicable to our great Cause. I know you are engaged in an important Continental Department and your Hands are full of Business; but I hope you will find Time to continue and further to cultivate an Intimacy with the leading Men of that State in the Government of which, I will venture to say, you must again have a great Share. Adieu my Friend.

S. A.

Philada., *Augt.* 9, '78.

James Warren to Samuel Adams[1]

Boston, *Augt.* 18, 1778

My dear Sir, — Since my last which I own was many days ago, I have had the pleasure of several of your favours of the 14th, 15th and 27th July and thank you for them. I think Congress have pitched on a person to settle Ceremonials who will not be in favour of what I hate, pompous parade, etc. I should have voted for you for that reason. in my Opinion all the plainess and simplicity Con-

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

sistent with decency should be used on such an Occasion as agreeing best with our Circumstances and profession; but their is such a variant and Inconsistency between the practice and profession of patriots as well as Christians that I can easily Conceive even a Member of Congress Exhibiting on such an Occasion all the Magnificence of Monarchy. I want much to hear of the full Completion of the Confederation. I shall take Care of the Order you sent me and in a few days have it settled. Manley has returned here greatly Chagrined, and full of Bitterness and resentment against you, who he Considers as the principle Occasion of his disappointment. it is Circulated with Industry that you are the patron of McNeil and Intend to have the decision of the Court Martial set aside. You can hardly Conceive with how much pleasure this, and indeed every other Story to your disadvantage is received and propagated here by a Party who are determined at all Events to ruin your Interest. I stop'd their Career in this by reading and telling a paragraph in your Letter relating to that matter. I shall always oppose the measures of this Party. for if I have no partiality for you, I have a prejudice against many of them. I cant bare the Influence of Men who were so hid in Holes and Corners a few Years ago that it was difficult to find them; and when found dared not tell you which side they belonged to. Especially when that Influence is directed against the Capital and most Staunch Friends this Country ever had. those Men must have an Idol. they most of them worship'd Hutchinson; they all now worship another who, if he has not H's Abilities, certainly equals him in Ambition and Exceeds him in Vanity. I wish I could give you a few Anecdotes. they would Excite your Indignation and perhaps ridicule. The servility and flattery I am daily a Witness [of] is disgusting enough.

Mr. Hancock is returned, seems to be in pretty good Health, is gone on the Expedition against R. Island, and there as Major General of this State Commands, as the Newspapers will Inform you, the second Line of the Army. I am told he sollicited the Council to be ordered on this Business, which after some Opposition obtained. What a noble Example of Heroism, as well as Patriotism does this Conduct Exhibit. we want a Homer or a

Virgil to Celebrate it and surely Congress itself must be the Mecenas to prompt and Encourage them.[1]

We have no News. our Expectations are now fixed on the R. Island Expedition. we are very anxious for the return of the French Fleet, without which I fear it will not Succeed. we have had a hard Gale of Wind and other very unfavourable weather since our Army was Collected. my best regards to Mr. Gerry, Lovel and Dana. I am your Friend.

[*No signature.*]

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS[2]

BOSTON, *Augt.* 25th, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote you by last Post pretty much in a hurry, nor do I recollect the perticulars of it. I believe there may have been in it some Treason against puppys and villains and some other things, which may Consign it to the Flames before this reaches you, but I think I did not say enough about Capt. Manley. I do think no Caution ought to be used in speaking of his Bravery. with a Command of a Single Ship my opinion is he would equal perhaps any in that respect, tho his Judgment and Abilities might not be equal to others in the direction of more Ships than one. however, between us, I would much rather trust him even there than another I could name, whose pretences to both are more Confident, and besides who believed better in the begining in a Little Schooner Exposed to all the Men of War, and who did more service by makeing prizes. and in short as Capt. Hinman Cant be Expected here in Season for the Ship at Norwich, I do think Manley should have her. As for Capt. Landais, no Exertions of mine shall be wanting to Afford him every Assistance in my power to man his Ship. he rises in my Esteem every day and I have the pleasure to add in that of others too. the other Captains are Convinced that he is Master of his Business, and that with his agreable Manners and disposition force Conviction of the Judicious-

1 On Hancock's return to Massachusetts, see *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 49.
2 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

ness of the Appointment against every prejudice. I suppose you have such direct Intelligence from your Generals that it would be vain, or at least Unnecessary for me to think of giving you any Intelligence of the proceedings at Rhode Island. I may however venture to predict that there is an End of our Expectations from that Expedition. the French Fleet has left them and I think they must retreat and leave the Island. there is no other Alternative but to strike a great and Capital Blow, such an one as the Genius of an Hanibal or a Frederic would dictate, or leave the Island. The French Fleet is hourly Expected here. an Agent from them has applyed to us for Pilots to meet them off Cape Cod and for Sparrs to repair them. I have sent out twelve Pilots and am provideing the Sparrs. the Council have desired us to furnish every thing they have Occasion for. I Consented, but I find they will heave themselves into the hands of those kind of Gentry here who will take Care to make their money of them (I say I, Mr. Deschon is gone to Providence on our Business, Mr. Vernon has been absent six months). I am somewhat perplexed to know how to dispose of the *Raleigh* and *Resistance*, which are both ready for Sea and would have sailed this day if the Fleet had Continued before Rhode Island.[1] I wish I could have the Sentiments of the Marine Committee as soon as possible, tho' I dont know but shall take some measures without, as soon as I can see Count De Estaing. We have no foreign News, nor any other domestic. I am yours Sincerely.

[*No signature.*]

Augt. 27th. The French Fleet do not yet appear. Our Army still Continues on Rhode Island. General Hancock returned last Evening to this Town. it is reported and believed, I suppose, that he is come to order back the French Squadron. if it was reported that he came to arrest the Course of Nature, or reverse the decrees of Providence, there are enough to believe it practicable.

1 They were ordered to cruise off North Carolina, to take armed vessels fitted out by the Goodriches (John, Bridger and William) of Virginia.

HANNAH WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, *Aug.* 29, 1778

. . . . . .

It would be a Vain thing in me to pretend to give you the tidings the occurrences that the fleeting days and weeks present to View especially as you are so nearly connected with one who has so large a share in the Present Scene and who I doubt not communicates freely to you. We who are at a greater distance and can only behold Events as they take place have nothing to do but wonder and patiently wait the Issue. We have lately seen vast numbers of men hieing away for a field of battle hurrying thither with the most Sanguine expectations but the great Mover of Universal Nature has seen fit by the operation of His Stormy winds to check our fond imaginations and we daily have the Mortification of seeing the men return without the Palm of Victory. Our Son the Librarian[1] was a Zealous Volunteer and is not yet come back from Camp. The British G——l P[hillip]s here kept a day of Festivity on the occasion and humanely orderd his officers not to insult our Men on their return. We who live among them must expect to meet with Chagrin as they are always by some Means or other Possest of the Secret many days before we are.

I have lately been Favord with a Review which Contains some lines which gave me great Pleasure. If you have not happend to have seen it or was not the Philomela who sang it I doubt not they will amuse you; but I must beg the Favour you would return them as they Cost me some time in Copying. Rather than detain you from what will give you more pleasure than anything of mine be pleasd to Accept Sincere Affection from your Unalterable Friend,[2]

HANNAH WINTHROP

1 James Winthrop.

2 A letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, September 1, 1778, is in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 52.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS[1]

BOSTON, *Sept.* 2d, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — We are all under Arms. A Fleet of fifteen sail of the Line and seven Frigates appeared in the Bay last Sunday and Yesterday came Close in by the Light House. they are not to be seen this Morning, but I suppose will show themselves again about Noon. we suppose this to be Lord Howe's Squadron Joined by some new Comers. the French Admiral is makeing every disposition to receive them if they Attempt to come in, not only in the Arrangement of his Ships, but by fortifying Nantasket, George's Island, etc., where he has mounted Cannon and landed men. whether they mean to amuse this Squadron till their Troops make a safe retreat to Hallifax, or whether they design to Attack the French even in this port is Uncertain, but I rather think the first. we have a foolish Spirit prevailing with rancour against the French for leaving Rhode Island. I call it a foolish one because in my Opinion, if the Conduct of the French has been bad, Common discretion would dictate silence to us, and that the only thing was to make the best of it at present. this is the doctrine I preach and practise. I cant bear to see the Whiggs falling in with the views of the Tories and Joining with them in a Clamour that may prove greatly Injurious if not ruinous to us. but we have always been plagued more with the Folly of the Whigs than with the wickedness of the Tories. Time wont permit me to add more than that I am your Friend.[2]

[*No signature.*]

SAMUEL ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

MY DEAR SIR, — The Bearer of this Letter, Ebenezer Hazard Esq, is a sensible Gentleman of good Character, and has had a liberal Education at the College in Princetown. He has a few years

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

2 A letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, September 12, 1778, is in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 58.

past been at Pains to obtain Copies of publick Records and Manuscripts relating to America. These with such others as he may be able to avail himself of he intends to publish, in hopes that some other Gentleman finding Materials thus collected may be induced to furnish the Publick with the History of the United States. Congress has countenanced his laudable Undertaking. As I am sure you are ready to afford Assistance to a Person disposd to serve Mankind in this or any other Way, (and I can assure you he is a true Republican Whigg) I have taken the Liberty to recommend him to your Patronage. Might he not be permitted to have Access to the Records of our State. Are there not some valuable Manuscripts in the Hands of private Gentlemen in the County of Plymouth or in the Records of that County or Town? The Papers which were carefully collected by the late Revd. and curious Mr. Prince were left to the Hon Mr. Gill. It might *perhaps* serve Mr. Hazards Purpose to be introducd to that Gentleman. But I forget that you have your Hands full of publick Business. Excuse me my Friend. Adieu. Your affectionate

S. Adams

Philadelphia, *Sept.* 22, '78.

James Warren to Samuel Adams.[1]

Boston, *Septr.* 30th, 1778

My dear Sir, — I have received your favours of the 1st and 12th Instant. I shall dismiss the subject of Manley and McNeil, and neither give you any further trouble on that head, nor Expose my Letters to your Critical Comments on a subject so little Interesting. I am glad to find you possessing your Soul in so much peace and Serenity. Contempt is an Excellent Antidote to the Influence of the Arts and Malice of wicked Men on the peace of an honest Man's Mind; but I think I have heard you hold it as a Maxim even in Politics not too much to despise your Enemies. perhaps you only mean you dont think my support of any Consequence. You would be surprised at the State of the political

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

System here, at the little and the great Arts that are practised to pull down the fabric of the last twelve Years, and at the prime Conductors. the design seems to be to lay it in ruins and under them to Bury the fabricators. even in the House a motion has been made and supported by several B——[Boston] Members to Admit Treasurer Gray, Doctr. Gardner, Jemmy Anderson,[1] etc., to return in peace. this will at once without detail give you a view of Matters. however in Justice to the House I must also tell you it did not obtain at that Time and that they are by way of Contrast on a Confiscation Bill; but it Labours very hard, and if it passes at all will not be very Comprehensive. some People of Influence are against the Principle and Consequently every part of it, and some other Great Ones, haveing no principle themselves but their own Ambition and popular Applause, will Contend with violence for the Principle and then reduce it to Nothing by the small Number to be Inserted. the first is to please the Whiggs, the last the Tories, for all are to be pleased and most people will be pleased and Trumpet the praises of some Men, however Inconsistant their Conduct is and however Manifestly Calculated to serve their own Ambitious purposes. The disposition that at first appeared to Cast an Odium on the Count and to discredit our New Allies seems to have entirely subsided and has been succeeded by the most perfect good humour and respect shown them. General Hancock has made most Magnificent Entertainments for the Count and his officers, both at his own and the public Houses and last Week the General Court Entertained them at Dinner in Faneuil Hall with much military Parade. on this Occasion the General had an opportunity of Exhibiting a Specimen of his Military Talents, etc. I cant descend to particulars that I wish to tell you, but as the Papers have not given a List of the Toasts and the Manner in which each was distinguished, having the honour to be present I will give some of them to you.

1. The United States. The A.D.C. was directed to give the Signal for 13 Cannon to fire.

2. the Monarch and Kingdom of France. Ditto.

1 Harrison Gray, Sylvester Gardiner and James Anderson, who were all included in the prescription act of 1778.

3. The Congress. the A.D.C. lookd wishfully, the General Shook his Head. No Cannon fired.

4. The Army and Navy of France. Ditto.

5. Genl. W[ashington] and the Army. the General waved the Signal to the Aid with great Earnestness. Another Aid by his Side waved his hand over his head. 13 Cannon. A General Shout and Clap. no Cannon fired after this Toast. I ventured afterwards to ask the General how it came to pass that Congress were not treated with the highest marks of Respect and Distinction and told him I was sorry to see the day when they were not. he said he had his Orders and they were Included in the United States. I told him I thought Genl. W. and the Army were; that I had as great a Respect for Genl. W. and the Army as any Man, but if they were not Included also in the United States I wished they were disbanded. this is the only time we have spoke since his return. I leave you to make your Comments, and to say whether this was oweing to no principle, or to a wish to distinguish the Military above the Civil, or to Contrast himself with Men he had represented as Inimical to the General and Army. but perhaps you wish also to have this subject dismissed as no more Interesting than the other.

We have no News. prizes are frequently comeing in and some Cruisers are Insulting our Coast, and I think the French Squadron too. they have taken a large Number of Vessels. The Count dont Incline to send after them. he has Formed an Opinion that a larger Fleet is on the Coast and these are designed to draw out a part of his Ships and take them; but I am Confident there are not more than three on the Coast. I want to know what you are doing. is the Confederation Compleated. are you takeing any measures for the Appreciation of your Currency. what says Monsr. Gerard with regard to the Conduct of the Squadron. how stands matters with Spain, etc., etc. we have been Apprehensive of an Attack on this State, but are now pretty easy and generally think the Enemy are going. I have received the money on Jemmy Otis's Order and disposed of it according to your Order, except to Mr. Dana, who I have not seen since I received it. Please to give my regards to your Brethren, perticularly to Mr.

Gerry and Lovel, and desire Mr. Gerry to let me know under his own hand why he has done writing to me. I suppose I am soon to have the pleasure of seeing him here and you the Mortification of looseing his Company and Assistance. I am your Sincere Friend, etc.

[*No signature.*]

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

BOSTON, *Oct.* 7th, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — As I keep no Copies of the Letters I write to you, and have been so Careless as to keep no Memorandum of them I can't recollect either the Number or Contents, but this I am certain of, that they are both Numerous and Lengthy, and that I have not received a Single Line from you. This is equally a subject of Complaint among all your Friends, and I am to be satisfied while I don't find myself distinguished by any perticular marks of Neglect. I don't write to the Embassador, or make any distinction between the Embassador and the Delegate I write to my Friend and use no kind of Ceremony, I leave that to the Great, and the Numerous Courtiers about you, supposeing that my usual familiarity, Carelessness, and sincerity may at least please by way of variety. I know you wish to be minutely Informed of the true state of your Native Country, and I wish I could recollect on the short Notice I have of this opportunity every thing I can Conceive would gratify your Curiosity, as I have but little time I must leave the great Movements of Congress, and the General State of America to the official Letters of Congress, and those perticular ones, you will receive from your Friends, at Philadelphia, the great Seat of Intelligence, and Confine myself pretty much to our own Affairs, and situation. I dare say before this reaches you, you will be Informed of the Train of misfortunes that have attended Count d Estaing's Squadron, and the Consequent ill success of the second Rhode Island Expedition, since which the Enemy have with their usual humanity destroyed the Town of Bedford, and plundered Marthas Vineyard as you will see by the Papers we

shall Inclose you per this opportunity. They have for some time past been Inactive and still, their Fleet principally at New York, which by the Addition of Byron's Squadron now all arrived is formidable, not less than seventeen sail of the Line and a Number of Frigates, with a 60-gun ship and two Frigates Cruising on our Coast. Boston with the French Fleet now here has been supposed their principal Object, and I once did believe they would attempt that, and the destruction of the Sea Coasts of this State but the Season is now so far Advanced, I think they will not risque such an Expedition, besides the Count has by fortifying George's Island and other parts of the Harbour made it Impregnable by Sea. I think no Squadron in Europe could force their way into this Harbour while the French Fleet remain here, and at this Season of the Year it would be Madness to make an Attempt by Sea when in the Bay a Single Night may prove the destruction of the whole of them. I think an Attack by Land equally Improbable because if they make it from Rhode Island and should be Able to penetrate to this Town, and not be Able to carry it, their retreat and supplies would at least be very uncertain. The Conjectures of their future operations are various. Most people think the Enemy will leave the United States, and we are now Informed they have Embarked twelve Regiments at New York soon after the Arrival of a packet there from England. A few days will decide upon all our Uncertainties.

The French officers and Seamen in this Squadron behave themselves Extreemly well; they are indeed the most peaceable, quiet and orderly set of men in their profession I ever saw, but there has Notwithstanding been several disagreable riots and Quarrels between them and the English Sailors here. I believe set on by the Tories, who wish to blow up a Breeze between us and our New Allies. I wish it was in my power to tell you that the Number and Influence of the Tories here were reduced, but I think they gain ground fast. This I Impute to the Coincideing of the Ambitious Views of a Certain Gentleman here, with the wicked and Timourous views of others. Things at present Appear to be in a strange way. we have no Constitution nor have we any probability of geting one. A Bill for Confiscating the Tories Estates has had two

readings in the House.[1] I am told there is no probability of its succeeding on the third; so far from it that even some Members on the B. Seat have without reserve Expressed their Sentiments that they should be suffered to return. *Tempora Mutantur.* Our Act prescribeing an Oath of Allegiance has had no Effect.[2] Most of the Tories to whom it was tendered have swallowed it without difficulty. few Towns have had resolution enough to Tender it, and where it has been Tendered and refused and the refusers Committed for Transportation, the Council have not had resolution enough to Carry it into Execution; so that while they Complain that their Laws and resolutions are not Executed they themselves set the Example. A Certain Assembly in this State would make a strange Appearance to you, who have been acquainted with vigorous Measures upon the most steady and vigorous principles. Mr. John Pickering is now the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Mr. Nath'll Gorham, who Mr. Adams Calls my Cousin, is Member for Lunenburge where he has resided since the destruction of Charlestown. Edward Bacon is Member for Barnstable, etc., etc. The Boston Members I presume you know. I have before told you that I have no Share in the Conduct of Matters. I was left out by my Town. I have given you the Causes of it. When I quit the Navy Board I shall be a Simple honest Farmer, and shall have nothing to do but humbly to look at the Conduct of public Men, and public Measures. Mr. Paine has never Attended Congress since you left us. Mr. Dana is Just returned. Gen'l Hancock went last June, after he had taken Care of the public here at Election. He returned very soon finding the Climate did not agree with him. He was not gone but about six weeks. It used to agree with him better than with any of you. Perhaps the Air in the President's Seat is purer than it is in more humble Stations. After his return he went on the R. Island Expedition and there staid Just long enough to gain among the Multitude the popular Eclat, and then left it so soon as to make the more discerning laugh. He is making great Entertainments and figureing away in a most Magnificent Manner. The Eyes of

1 The act was not passed till April 30, 1779. *Acts and Resolves*, v. 1056.
2 *Ib.*, v. 770.

many People are open and see his views and Motives, and some of the Judicious think Nothing Necessary but to veer away rope. Last week this day was Assigned for the Choice of Delegates. This early Assignment was the policy of some Men to strike at some of the present delegates with more certain success, and perticularly at Mr. Adams. If the great Man fails he will be Mortified indeed. Yesterday the House voted him a Marquee with all its furniture and Apparatus, for to do them Justice they are very respectful, and ready to gratify him; but this Vote was Unanimously Nonconcurred by the Council, and this is not the only Mortification in that way. The *Boston* and other frigates have sent in a prize they took since they left France. Your Lady will write you by this opportunity. She was here yesterday. Mrs. Warren is to dine with her tomorrow. You will please to make My Respectful Compliments to your Associates and Believe me to be Your Assured Friend,[1]

J. W.

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLIMOUTH, *October* 15, 1778

SIR, — A Long absence from your Native shore would insure a Welcome to a line from me had I no other Claim to your Attention. But when I can Recur to former Instances of Friendship and indulgence and in addition to that assure you I take up my pen in Compliance with the Repeated request of your Good Lady, I can suppose it possible that Even the most important Negotiations may for a Moment be suspended.

Nor shall the Distance or uncertainty of Conveyance which forbids the hope of a speedy answer, Check my inclination to Converse with a Gentleman, made dear to me by the high style of friendship subsisting between him and the person who Deservedly holds the first place in my Heart, and as I have thus early mentioned this unshaken patriot I will just hint to you that

1 Letters from Samuel Adams to James Warren, October 11 and 14, 1778, are in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 68, 72.

Wearied with the perplexities and Embarrasments of public life, sickened by the Ingratitude and Baseness of Mankind, and sighing for the felicity of Domestic peace, He is about to leave the Mazy paths of politics, and War, and Return to the still, unvariegated scenes of the sequestered Roof.

I hope, sir, you will not be led by the Contrast which your own manner of Life Exhibits, (amidst the Intrigues of statesmen and the pleasures of the Court of Versailles) to Disapprove the Resolution. Were you now in the State of Massachusetts you might perhaps see Reasons sufficient to lead you to a similar Determination. But I shall leave it to some more Descriptive hand to Give you a true Idea of our present situation.

A state of War has Ever been Deemed unfriendly to Virtue, but such a total Change of Manners in so short a period I believe was never known in the History of Man.[1]

When Rapacity and profusion, pride and servility, and almost Every Vice is Contrasted in the same Breast, when a society is without Virtue, and Government without Energy, it is then Necessary some Masterly hand (who Can trace the sources of Human action) should take the Helm and New Form the Characters of the people.

When such a Genius will arise, or when Contingent Circumstances will permit its Exertion must be left till He who Rules the Empire of Creation shall by the Fiat of His Finger Commission some Agent Endowed to Execute the Benevolent purpose.

But though such an Happy Event may not soon take place yet I believe the Idol which has been set up in Susa, whom all but Daniel and the Righteous three have Fallen Down and Worshipped, will soon prove to be an Image of Clay, instead of pure Gold, and that will be sufficient to Destroy the Adulation paid the Brittle pageant though perhaps not to Root out the spirit of Idolatry.

It is probable the Next you Receive from Mrs. A——s will Give you an account of a superb Entertainment made this Day

1 Impressed by the spirit of the times Mrs. Warren wrote a poem "On The Genius of America weeping the absurd Follies of the Day. — October 10, 1778" which is in her volume of *Poems*, 246.

by the Count De Estainge.[1] Some Domestic Avocations obliged me to Decline the Invitation or I should Gladly have joined the Little Circle at Braintree, and made one of the party, but as I had once been on Board the *Languedoc* I was not impelled by Curiosity. With me the speculative would have been the principle part of the Repast, and ample as is the Field which this Connexion, and the Circumstances leading to it afford, I thought I might as well Enjoy it in my own Apartment, as in the saloon of a Marquiss, or the state Room of the first Count in France.

The squadrons of the House of Bourbon, fortifying the Harbour, Riding in the port of Boston, and Displaying the Ensigns of Harmony, are Events which though precipitated by the Folly of Britain, have outrun the Expectations of America. And as there has not yet been time to prove the sincerity of either party, I think most of those officers who Remember the Late War, (when we Huged ourselves in the protection of Britain) Look as if they Wished, Rather than believed ancient prejudices Obliterated, and half doubting our Friendship, Reluctantly hold back that Flow of affection which in Reallity we are ready to Return in full Measure, while the younger part unconscious of injuries, Discover an Honest Joy Dancing in their Eye, and Every Feature softned by the Wish of Mutual Confidence, Extend their arms to Embrace their New allies.

I am not about to Characterize those Respectable strangers which appear in our Capital, I am not Enough acquainted with their Language and Manners to judge with precision. Yet I think while the Errand on which the Count De Estainge came out Excites our Gratitude, the Dignity of his aspect Commands our Respect, and his Reserved affability (if I may so Express it) Heightens our Esteem. But he is Certainly an unfortunate officer. I wish he may yet win some palm of Victory before he Returns to the arms of his sovereign.

I have been in Company with the Marquiss Lafayette but a few Minits, but am told this Character Needs not an American pencil, having Reached a hight far beyond his years before he Crossed the Atlantic.

1 *Familiar Letters*, 342.

Are you, sir, acquainted with Mrs. Holker? A seperation at such a Distance from a partner possessed of so many accomplishments must be very painful. Penetrating and active, sensible and judicious, the Consul acquits himself in the Eye of the public whilst the politeness of his Manners and his agreeable Department insures his Welcome at Every social Board, and I Could not but Wisper my friend portia when he Lately made me a Visit that she was not the only Lady who sacrificed at the shrine of public utility, the best blessings of Friendship.

Yet such is Human Nature that Man is seldom known by his Demeanour, and the first favorable impression is too Frequently Forfeited by Guilt or Indiscretion Long before the Conclusion of the Drama. I therefore only Mention two or three Distinguished Characters among us just to Remind you of a proposal of your own from which I now Expect to Reap Great advantages.

Are not the Customs and Manners of Cotemporary Nations More Especially if Drawn by a hand Remarkable for its perspecuity, More Interesting and Entertaining than the Dry uncertain Narations of distant ages? The politest Court in Europe must afford Variety indeed.

Are you, sir, as much in the Good Graces of the parissian Ladies as your Venerable Colligue? We often hear he is not more an Adept in politics than a Favorite of the Fair. He has too many Complements of Gratulation and Esteem from Each quarter of the World to make it of any Consequence whither I offer my Little tribute of Respect or not. Yet I would tell him as a Friend to Mankind, as a Daughter of America and a Lover of Merit, that no one more ardently Wishes for the Continuance of his Health Vigour and usefulness, and so disinterested is my Regard, that I do not wish the patriotic sage to leave the soft Caresses of the Court of France. Least his unpolished Countrywomen should be more apt to Gaze at and admire the Virtues of the philosopher than to Embrace the Man.

Every Article of Intelligence both from the Field and the Cabinet you must have from your Numerous Correspondents and Every Anecdote of Lesser Moment Worthy your Attention you Receive under a signature more pleasing than mine.

But when you Look over the List of your Friends and Recollect their impatience to hear from you, you will not forget that few, very few, will be more Gratifyed with the Notices of your Welfare or the Intimations of your Regard, than Your sincere and very Humble Servant,[1]

MARCIA WARREN

SAMUEL ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, *Oct.* 20th, 1778

MY DEAR SIR: — I am much pleasd with the Respect lately shown to the Count D'Estaing and his Officers, but not with the Etiquet of your publick Entertainment.[2] The Arrangement of the Toasts was not perfectly agreable to my Idea of Propriety. This may be thought unworthy of Notice. But there is no Appearance made by the Publick but, like that of a private Individual, adds more or less to its Honor or Disgrace. Besides, Things which detatchd and by themselves are justly considerd as Trifles light as Air, when they are connected with and made Parts of a great Machine, become important and do good or Hurt. The Monarch and Kingdom of France preceeded the Congress; and the Army and Navy of France that of America. Nations and independent sovereign States do not compliment after the Manner of Belles and Beaus. The superior Respect paid to the General and Army of America to that shown to the Congress, viz. by the Addition of a feu du joie, I suppose was conformable to the Practice of all wise States in giving a just Preference to the Military above the civil

1 A letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, October 17, 1778, is in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 75.

2 "On Friday last, at the invitation of the Government of this State, the Count D' Estaing and his officers dined at Faneuil Hall, with the Honourable Council and House of Representatives, the Continental military officers in the land and sea service, the gentlemen of the civil and ecclesiastical order, and a great number of other gentlemen — it is thought not less than 400, were seated at once at the several tables in the Hall. The entertainment was splendid. The genuine joy was never observed to rise higher upon any public occasion; and the toasts, and every circumstance thro' the day, express'd it in the most lively manner; the great and mutual pleasure diffused by the present happy Union between France and these States; which British tyranny has now rendered so important to the interest of both nations." *Independent Chronicle*, October 1, 1778.

Power. It must be confessed it is grounded on Principles truly and altogether Republican. Yet the old fashiond Whiggs murmur at it; and with a Mixture of Pleasure and Indignation contrast the present with past Times when it was made a Capital Point, to keep the former under the Controul of the latter. Men are prone to Idolatry; and some who seem to scorn the worshiping Gods of other Nations, will bow down to graven Images of Gold and Silver, and, strange Infatuation! of Wood in the form of an Ass an Ape or a Calf, no matter what, if it be the Work of their own Hands. In Truth, my Friend, the Congress appears to be in an awkard Situation. While they are exerting their utmost Influence, on all proper Occasions, to support the civil Authority of the several States over the military, there are some Men, even in that State which my Partiality had almost led me to pronounce the most respectable in the Union who would have less Respect shown to them than to the Creatures which they have made. Tyrants have been the Scourges and Plagues of Mankind, and Armies their Instruments. These have been said by ignorant Flatterers and Sycophants to be the Vicegerents of the Almighty to punish Men for their Sins, and therefore not to be resisted or contrould. The Time may come when the Sins of America may be punishd by a standing Army; and that Time will surely come when the Body of the People, shall be so lost to the Exercise of common Understanding and Caution, as to suffer the Civil to stoop to the Military Power.

I will finish this Scrawl with an Anecdote. Not many Days ago a Sherriff of the County of Philadelphia attempted to serve a Writ on the Person of the Count Pulaski. He was at the Head of his Legion and resisted the Officer. A Representation of it was made to Congress by the Chief Justice who well understands his Duty and is a Gentleman of Spirit. The Count was immediately orderd to submit to the Magistrate, and informd that Congress was determind to resent any Opposition made to the civil Authority by any of their officers.[1] The Count acted upon the Principle of Honor. The Debt was for the Support of his Legion, and he thought the Charge unreasonable as it probably was. He was

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XII. 974.

ignorant of the Law of the Land and made the Amend honorable. The Board of War afterwards adjusted the Account and the Creditor was satisfied. Adieu.

S. A——

I intreat you not to resign your Seat at the Navy Board.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

BOSTON, *Octr.* 25th, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — I received yours by Mr. Thaxter in safety and hope you have before this found leisure to pursue the subject. I am fully Convinced that no Man, let his Integrity and services be ever so great or Meritorious, is to Escape free from the Malignant and Envious Spirit now prevailing. Doctr. Lee must Expect his Share. if it is not a proper reward for public virtue, I have learnt to Consider it as a certain mark of it and whoever escapes is in some degree suspicious.

We have just received an Account that a large Fleet of British Men of War and Transports have left N. York and many People are Apprehensive they are comeing this way. preparations are makeing to receive them. for my own part I Cant Conceive that even Britons are yet so Infatuated as to risque an Expedition here at this Season. if they should they may give us some trouble and probably ruin themselves. One storm such as we frequently have at this Time of Year may gratify our wishes and leave the French perfectly at Liberty to pursue their Conquests in the West Indies. we have no other Intelligence of any kind of Importance to give you. the French Squadron still remain here, all ready, or nearly ready, for the Sea. the General Court is adjourned to January. Most People are Engaged in geting and some in spending Money as fast as they can. superb Entertainments are very Common. Genl. H[ancock] gives a Magnificent Ball to the French Officers, and to the Gentlemen and Ladies of the Town next Thursday Evening. indeed all manner of Extravagance prevails

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

here in dress, furniture, Equipage and Liveing, amidst the distress of the public and Multitudes of Individuals. how long the Manners of this People will be Uncorrupted and fit to Enjoy that Liberty you have so long Contended for I know not. I fear you have lost your Labour. they will be soon fit to receive some Ambitious Master.

we have had an Agreable Visit from your Lady and Daughter at Plymouth. I have not seen her since her return a few days ago; she was then very well. Inclosed is a Letter for the President which you will please to deliver. it contains my resignation of my office at the Navy Board. perhaps you will think I do wrong. I cant help it. this Business is very laborious, requiring close and constant Attention. I have no time to Attend to my Family and private Affairs, subject to the disagreable Circumstance of liveing from my Family and not in the most agreable manner, and besides all this, it is too Expensive for me. I live very frugally. I Board very simply, but that and my Horsekeeping only, without a Servant and any kind of Elegancies, has, while Board was fifteen dollars per week and under, cost me about 500 dollars more than my pay. it is now twenty dollars per week, hay 30/ per hundred. this Expense with the Neglect of my private Affairs will ruin me. the honour of holding this place will not Compensate for all this and the public will receive no detriment by my retirement. you will easily find others Capable of doing this Business better than I can. when Congress permits me, I will go Home and pray for your Success. I am in the mean Time your assured Friend, etc.

J. Warren

My regards to Mr. Gerry, Lovel and other Friends.

October 27th. No further Intelligence of the British fleet, nor have we any News from any quarter.

I am desired by Capt. Brown, whom you once mentioned to me, to recall your Attention to him. he dont seem to think there is now room for him to be appointed to the Command of a frigate, but he thinks there would be Advantages from haveing a Superintendant Appointed, whose Business it should be to superintend

and direct the repairs and fixing the Ships under the direction of the Navy Board. you will Judge of the propriety of such an Officer. your Navy here seems to be Important enough to Command your Attention. this will always be their head Quarters. docks and Yards would Cost no doubt a great deal of Money, but if Congress could see how we are Imposed on, Cheated and delayed in our Business and Unavoidably so, they perhaps would think the Money well laid out. You furnished us not long ago with an ample and generous supply. you will perhaps be surprised when I tell you it is gone. we must write to you for more, tho' I do it with reluctance, yet it is necessary, and we must be supplyed without any kind of delay or the whole Business must stop at once. We must mention other things to your Committee which I beg your Immediate Attention to. we have supplyed the French Squadron to the Amount of about 130,000 dollars. you are to Consider there are in this harbour six frigates, a Brigantine and Sloop, a large Ship Building at Portsmouth, two frigates at Connecticut and a Ship in Connecticut River, all calling for Money as fast as it can be told. the truth is the Money fetches so little that I am sick with seeing the Bills brought into this Office. I cant add more at present, haveing our hands full. Adeu.

We have done a great deal of Business for the French Squadron. when we rendered our Accounts by the Advice of General Whipple, we charged a Commission of five per cent. whether it will be admitted or not I dont know. I rather doubt it, tho' we have earned it. Will you please to Seal the Inclosed before delivery.

James Warren to the President of Congress[1]

[Henry Laurens]

Boston, *Oct.* 28th, 1778

Sir, — I Beg leave to make my Acknowledgements to Congress for the Honour they have done me by the repeated Marks of their

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

Confidence in the several Appointments they have Conferred upon me. If anything could add to the Zeal with which I have served the publick in the present great Contest, and Excite me to greater diligence it would be the Gratitude I feel on these occasions. However Circumscribed my Abilities are I have Endeavoured to supply the want of greater by an honest and assiduous attention to my duty, and I flatter myself that my Exertions have produced some Advantages to the Common Cause. I Wish it was in my power to Continue at the Navy Board, and serve the publick in that Station in a way that would at once be honourable and advantageous to the public and myself. I have been Engaged many Years in public Service to the Injury of my small Fortune and the great disadvantage of my Family. The Business in this Department is very Extensive and requires Constant Attention to the total Exclusion of the private Business or relaxation of the Members, and under the present Circumstances of things Nothing but the Solicitations of Gentlemen well affected to our Cause, and my own Inclinations to serve it, has Induced me to Continue as a Member to this Time. As there are undoubtedly Many Gentlemen of greater Abilities, who in Addition to my Motives may have in Contemplation the honour and profitt of this Employment, and the public will receive no detriment by my retirement, I Beg the favour of Congress to permit me to resign, Assuring them that I shall Consider it my duty to attend to the Business here till they have had an Opportunity to make a new Appointment. As I feel greatly Interested in the Cause of America, I sincerely wish Success to every Department Constituted to promote it, and particularly to the Navy, which I flatter myself by a Judicious Management and proper Attention may soon be on a footing to rank America with the most distinguished Naval Powers.

I Beg Leave also to Inform Congress that by the Integrity and Honour of Coll. Laomi Baldwin (who Commanded a Regiment when I was Paymaster) I have discovered a considerable part of the deficiencies which I could not then account for. He has paid into my hands 576 dollars which after long Enquiry he has been Able to Account for no other way than by his receiving it from my office by mistake. This Money waits for the disposition of the

Honourable Congress. I shall be happy in being fortunate enough to discover the remainder.

I have the Honour to be with the Greatest Esteem and Respect Your Excellency's Most obed't Humble Serv't,

J. W.

This resignation was not accepted by Congress, but at their request and the urgency of many other Gentlemen the writer continued to serve in that department for two or three Years longer.[1]

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [2]

BOSTON, *Novr.* 5th, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — I am to thank you for your favours of the 17th and 20th of October, which were received last Evening. I am not able at present to make any perticular reply to the Contents of them. can only say that your Advice has always great weight with me and your Entreaties still more; but whatever Influence they might have had in this Instance they came too late. my resignation was sent forward last week by Express and perhaps by this Time is handed to you. I had no reason to suppose it would be disagreable either to you or Mr. Gerry. I had hinted it to both of you and no Objection was made. however, when you are possessed of my reasons, I am Inclined to suppose you will think it best. the Business is Enormously great and serving on the Terms we do is Injurious to our Families, not to mention till I see you one or two other things.

Mr. Temple will hand you this. his Character, his Conduct and his Sufferings in Consequence of them are too well known to you to require anything said by me to Insure him a handsome reception from you. I have no doubt he deserves it. we have no news. I am yours affectionately

J. WARREN

1 A letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, November 3, 1778, is in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 88.

2 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO JAMES WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, *Novr.* 8th, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — I am a little apprehensive that some of my Friends will consider Silence to their Letters, which an indifferent State of Health and much Fatigue has for some Time rendered inevitable, as an abatement of Friendship, but conscious of the sincerest Esteem for my Friend General Warren and having long experienced his Candour, I flatter myself he will consider such omissions, as they really are, the Effects of Necessity. I shall trouble You with little, in Answer to your several Favours of the 13th May, 7th July, 4th Augt., and 3d Sep. last, as their early Dates render it unnecessary. The marine Commee I presume, have taken the proper Steps to do Justice to Capt. Manly; the bravery of this officer seems not to be questioned, but many appear to Want Confidence in his Abilities and Experience, and on that Ground oppose his being high in office: I presume not to judge of their Motives and Designs on this Occasion, or without further information, of his Character as an officer. I am much concerned to find, that You intend to quit the Business of the navy Board, as it will be soon an important and respectable Department. Under the present State of Affairs it is impossible to do Justice to the Commissioners, but Congress have increased their Salary to 3000 Dollars Per Year. perhaps you consider the Levity of the Times as an Argument for Quitting the Service, if so, I will readily acknowledge that the Vices of some and Follies of others are very displeasing; but in a Revolution like the present, necessarily producing an entire Change of the Governments and Constitutions of thirteen States, the Suspension of Law and Justice, the Want of necessary Arrangements for preventing Frauds, and the most favorable Oppertunities for Speculators and Ingrossers, it must reasonably be expected that the Morals of the people will be greatly injured, and for a while, present a gloomy prospect. but I trust, there is yet Wisdom and Vertue enough in America to recover her Citizens from their Errors, and lead a brave and deserving People into paths conducive to their Happiness. true it is the Work is arduous, And it is equally true, that

it is necessary; for should We exceed in Power and Wealth every Empire on Earth, and neglect the Morals of the People, is it not evident, that our Independance, instead of Freedom would produce a Slavery, far exceeding that of every other Nation? If the best and ablest Friends of America, who under providence have opposed the corrupt Arts, not less than the powerful Arms of G. Britain, will unite in checking the Career of Vanity, Vice and Folly, the Leaders of this feeble Train will vanish at the Appearance of Opposition, and leave the Way clear to the promotion of the opposite Virtues; but if on the other Hand, those on whom We have principally relied, should suffer themselves to be disgusted at the natural appearance of *Bubbles* on the mighty Ocean of our affairs, and withdraw from the Service, I fear that our Liberties, like such shortlived *phaenomenons* will burst, and leave not behind, a Trace of their former existence.

I know that You have had much Fatigue and Tryal, and met with many Things that are very disagreable. I assure You that We have had a full Share of these in Congress; I most ardently wish to return to my native Country, and co-operate with my Friends in their salutary Measures. pray confer with our Friend Mr. Dana, on these affairs, as I am persuaded he can inform You of many Things which will assist You in pursuing the necessary Measures. . . .

E. Gerry

Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir, — I have receivd your favor of the 7 October by Mr. Dod. I cannot say that I am by any Means pleasd with the inclosd Letter to [Congress].[1] I am glad however that you allowd me the Perusal of it before its Presentation. I consider the Confidence you place in me in this Instance as sufficient to warrant me in delaying to deliver it, till I shall hear further from you, which I will accordingly do in hopes that you will alter your Determination.

1 His letter of resignation, p. 61, *supra*.

We now begin to hope for Peace soon on our own Terms; or if the War should continue longer, that it will be conducted in such a Manner as will render a large Army less necessary, which will enable us to be at greater Expence for an American Navy; the building up of which is looked upon by all wise and good Men whom I converse with as necessary and highly important. General Whipple is again returnd to Congress; and as he is a Man of Sense and great Experience in Marine Affairs, and was formerly of the Marine Comtee. I was sollicitous that he should again be of the Number.[1] Congress have added him to the Committee, and I hope he will act as Chairman during the Absence of Colo. Lee who is gone to Virginia. From several Hints which Genl. W. has dropd to me, I am in Hopes that Measures will be come into which may add Weight to your Board and facilitate the Business of it.

The Navy Boards, especially that in the Eastern Department where it is probable there will constantly be a great Resort of our Ships of War, will be standing Boards, and of the greatest Importance to the United States. The best Men must fill those Places.

I will not, least you should think me indelicate, add more on this Subject, than my *earnest Request* that you will for the present suspend your Resignation.

I am glad that you have discoverd the Mistake you mention,[2] and will communicate it.

The Picture, my dear Friend, which you give me of my beloved Native town mortifies me greatly. I had the Vanity to think she would afford Examples of Industry, Frugality, Temperance and other publick Virtues. I fear with you that we have lost our Labour. When ambitious Men aim at establishing a Popularity by confounding the Distinction between Virtue and Vice and through the Degeneracy of Times they can effect it, the People will tamely submit to a Master. Adieu.

[*No signature.*]

PHILADA., *Novr.* 9th, 1778.

1 He was appointed on the Committee November 6, in place of Josiah Bartlett, absent.
2 In his accounts.

Samuel Adams to James Warren

Philada., *Novr.* 23, 1778

My dear Sir, — I have lately receivd a Letter from our worthy Friend Mr. J. A[dams] of an old Date, the 21st of May. "Our Affairs says he in this Kingdom, I find in a State of Confusion and Darkness that surprizes me. Prodigious Sums of Money have been expended and large Sums are still due; but there are no Books of Accounts nor any Documents from whence I have been able to learn what the United States have receivd as an Equivalent." And yet we are told by a Gentleman lately from France that the Accounts and Documents were left in the Hands of a Person in Paris. My Friend A. L[ee] is called by those who dread his Vigilance "a dissatisfied Man." Having receivd many Letters from him since I last saw you, I know he is dissatisfied. What Man who regards the Publick Interest, or his own Reputation, can be satisfied, when he sees Millions of Livres spent, himself accountable with others for the Expenditure, and the Man through whose hands the greatest Part has passd without consulting him after being repeatedly called upon by him, unready or unwilling to account for them. There are other Things which my Friend complains of, and I think not without Justice. When I consider the high Character which one Man sustains and the Depth of Art which he is Master of; the low mercantile Cunning and plausibility of another, the servile and adulating Disposition of some on this side of the Water, the Commercial Interests and Connections of others, and the too formidable Combination of Men of Ambition, Avarice and Vanity, to sacrifice the Characters of those whose Conduct is a perpetual Remonstrance against them I cannot say I am without Apprehensions of what may befall that eminent American Patriot. I fear America is too unsuspecting long to continue free. Men of corrupt Principles, who seek to accumulate Honor and Wealth to themselves, to the Prejudice of the Publick, will endeavor to lull the People into Security, or, as they will call it, perfect good Humour, that they may not keep a vigilant Eye over them. It is the Right of the People which they ought to exercise, a Duty which they owe to their Posterity

to think and speak and publish with a decent Freedom, their Sentiments of publick Men and Measures. Adieu.

Decr. 9. The foregoing I had laid aside, and probably should never have forwarded it to you, had not an extraordinary Peice appeard in the last Saturday's paper signd S. Dean, in which he avows himself to be the Author of the Queries I sent you a few Weeks ago. I believe you will find the Plausibility of this Performance, which I shall inclose, to be answerable to a Character I have given you in the Letter above. He "had the Honor to be the Commercial and political Agent of America in Europe." He might have said more justly that he had the Honor of being employd by the secret Committee of Commerce as their Agent, and by the secret Committee of Correspondence as their Intelligencer. Mr. A Lee he says "having by a wanton Display of his Errand, given great and just Cause of Disgust to the Court of Spain, returnd." I will relate to you certain Matters which may explain, if that Court was disgusted with him as Mr. D[eane] asserts, how it came to pass Soon after the secret Committee was appointed, which if I remember rightly was about three years ago, they wrote a Letter to Mr. Lee then in England, requesting a political Correspondence with him, and desiring he would give them the best Intelligence he could, and *pledging* to him their *Confidence*. Mr. Lee being thus *honord*, in Mr. Dean's Sense, as a *political Agent of America*, and having the solemn Assurance of Confidence and Secrecy, with his usual fidelity and as became him in that Character, proceeded with unsuspecting Frankness to open to the Committee what he thought as well as what he knew of Men and Measures. There was at that time in England a Mr. Carmichael, who is lately arrivd in America and since appointed a Delegate in Congress for the State of Maryland. Mr. Lee had a good opinion of this young Gentleman; and he being at that time about to return hither by the Way of France, Mr. Lee thought him a safe hand, and entrusted him with Dispatches to the secret Committee. His Letter was written on the inner Sides of the Outside Leaves of a small pocket Dictionary, and so neatly closd to the Covers as not to afford the least Suspicion if it should meet

with the Fate of being taken by the Enemy. Mr. Carmichael took the Dictionary and went over to France where he remaind till his late Embarkation for Portsmouth at which place he arrivd last Summer. In France he met with Mr. Dean. The Letter was opend! Who probably committed this Act, Mr. Dana can inform you as well as I can. To him I refer you. I desire you would ask him and if you please let him know that I desire it of you. He can tell you more than I chuse to trust in writing. I hope you are by this time become confidential with him. But this is Digression. I have seen the Letter. It is dated the 3d of June, '76.[1] There are containd in it free Sentiments of the Minister of Spain, but such as a Man of Mr. Lee's Integrity could not withhold from the Committee.[2] Such Intelligence, I must say, being thus pyrated, Such Secrets betrayd, Judge who "wantonly displayd his Errand," and by whose Means the Court of Spain saw Cause to distrust Arthur Lee, if they did distrust him. I say if they did distrust him, because I doubt the Fact. If they restricted him to the City of Burgos, as Mr. Dean says, I rather think it was owing to the Caution of that Court, least she should too early offend the Court of London by giving Countenance to an American Commissioner.

Mr. Dean says, "At this Place (Berlin) he (A. L[ee]) was so unfortunate as to do nothing, unless indeed he may give the Name of Business to the Loss of his Papers," by which a Discovery was made of the Secrets of his Colleagues and the British Ministry enabled to counteract the Measures taken for the Benefit of America. The Anecdote is this. In Berlin, Mr. Lee being invited and dining abroad, the British Envoy found Means to get his Closet and his Trunk *forcd* open and his Papers were pilferd. But Mr. Lee having Intelligence of it, immediately made Application to the Minister of Berlin and by his Interposition the Papers were returnd; as I am informd in a few Hours.[3] Mr. Dean designs to hold up my worthy Friend in this Instance as careless of the Secrets of his Colleagues. But what Security is there against the Rape of the Lock? This indeed is the second Instance

1 *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence* (Wharton), II. 95.
2 "Spain is more reserved; her minister here an old woman."
3 *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence* (Wharton), II. 351.

of his losing his Papers. The first by the Behaviour of the Person to whom he had regularly committed them, for which I will not now give a Name; and the other by the Theft of a British Minister. If he had been as fortunate in the early discovery of the one as the other, Mr. Dean might allow "the Name of Business" to be given, if not to the Loss of his Papers, to his Activity and Address in recovering them.

It is pleasant to see Mr. Dean indulging his Talent in Insinuation to lead his Readers to conclude that A. L[ee] was secretly intriguing with the British Ministry and thereby embarrassing our Affairs in France. His Acquaintance with the Earl of Shelburne who had formerly been his Patron in England, was the Ground of Suspicion of his disclosing our Secrets; "joynd to his undisguisd Hatred and Expressions of Contempt of the french Nation in General."

I have good Grounds to be satisfied from a Conversation I have had with a Great Man who ought to be and undoubtedly is perfectly acquainted with the French Court,[1] that Mr. L[ee] is thought of there differently from what Mr. Dean would have the People here think of him, and that the Insinuation "that he had given universal Disgust to the Nation whose Assistance we sollicited" is void of any just Foundation. But so long ago as "in the Summer of 1777 a Correspondence between a certain Dr. Berkenhout and the Hon Arthur Lee Esq took place." Aye, and it was "on political Subjects." If Mr. L[ee] had left it to be discoverd by the Sagacity of others that there was such a Correspondence between him and Dr. Berkenhout and that Dr. B. was in the Confidence of the British Ministry, Mr. Dean might have supposd there were Grounds to suspect Mr. L[ee]'s Integrity; but unfortunately Mr. Lee told it himself to his Colleagues and related to them a Part of the Correspondence. Mr. D[eane] would here insinuate as he did in his Queries that it was a criminal Correspondence. But if it has been, would Mr. Lee have exposd himself to Mr. Dean? The Man whom he conceivd to be his mortal Enemy? Surely not. A wise Minister will endeavor to possess himself of the secret Designs of the publick Enemy. This is done by a Variety of

1 Gerard, the French Minister.

Means. Mr. Lee corresponds with Dr. Berkenhout (as Mr. Dean says) a Confident of the British Ministry. A shortsighted Politician believes or a prejudicd and designing Man insinuates that it is a Criminal Correspondence. If it was so, Why was not Mr. D[eane], who knew it in the Summer of 1777, so faithful as to acquaint his Constituents, the Congress, of it? To have done this would have shown the Appearance of Fidelity. He relates a Story and as he says himself "simply" thus. "A Gentleman of Character told me that his Correspondent in England" etc. (See the 3 Collumn of his piece.) Who this Gentleman of Character is, and who the Correspondent in *England*, it was needless to tell us; but we learn that in Mr. D[eane]'s Opinion a Gentleman of Character *may* have an English Correspondent. This Correspondent informd this Gentleman of Character, and because Mr. Dean tells us so, it is sufficient for us faithfully to believe it and damn Dr. Lee's Character. But I fear I have tired your Patience. Adieu. [*No signature.*]

John Adams to James Warren

Passy, *Decr.* 2, 1778

My dear Sir, — Last Night, I recd. your Letter of Octr. 7th by a Special Messenger from M. De Sartine, who writes me that he knows not how where nor by whom it arrived. I mention this that it may Serve as an Answer in some Measure to the Complaint in your Letter, that neither you nor my other Friends have heard from me. I have wrote very often, to you and them but there is Strange Management with Letters and most that We write are sunk in the Sea.

I sincerely grieve for my Country in the News that you are not of either House. But it is some Comfort to me to think that I shall be soon a private Farmer, as well as you, and both pursueing our Experiments in Husbandry. The longer I live and the more I see of public Men, the more I wish to be a private one. Modesty is a Virtue, that can never thrive, in public. Modest Merit! is there such a Thing remaining in public Life? It is now become a

Maxim with some, who are even Men of Merit, that the World esteems a Man in Proportion as he esteems himself, and are generally disposed to allow him, to be what he pretends to be. Accordingly, I am often astonished at the Boldness with which Persons make their Pretensions, a Man must be his own Trumpeter, he must write or dictate Paragraphs of Praise in the News Papers, he must dress, have a Retinue, and Equipage, he must ostentatiously publish to the World his own Writings with his Name, and must write even some Panegyrics upon them, he must get his Picture drawn, his Statue made, and must hire all the Artists in his Turn, to set about Works to spread his Name make the Mob stare and gape, and perpetuate his Fame. I would undertake, if I could bring my Feelings to bear it, to become one of the most trumpeted, admired, courted, worship'd Idols in the whole World in four or five Years. I have learned the whole Art, I am a perfect Master of it. I learnd a great deal of it from Hutchinson and the Tories, and have learned more of it since from Whigs and Tories both, in America and Europe. if you will learn the Art I will teach you.

I have not yet begun to practice this. there is one Practice more which I forget. He must get his Brothers, Cousins, Sons and other Relations into Place about him and must teach them to practice all the same Arts both for them selves and him. He must never do any Thing for any Body who is not his Friend, or in other Words his Tool.

What I am going to say, will be thought by many to be practicing upon some of the above Rules. You and I have had an ugly Modesty about Us, which has despoyld Us of almost all our Importance. We have taken even Pains to conceal our Names, We have delighted in the shade, We have made few Friends, no Tools, and what is worse when the Cause of Truth, Justice, and Liberty have demanded it We have even Sacrificed Those who called themselves our Friends and have made Enemies.

No Man ever made a great Fortune in the World, by pursuing these Maxims. We therefore do not expect it, and for my own Part I declare, that the Moment, I can get into Life perfectly private, will be the happiest of my Life.

The little Art and the less Ambition with which I see the World full disgusts and shocks me more and more. And I will abandon it to its Course, the Moment I can do it with Honour and Conscience.

Remember me, Sir, in the most respectfull Manner to your good Lady, whose Manners, Virtues, Genius, and Spirit will render her immortal, notwithstanding the general Depravity. I am, her and your Friend,

JOHN ADAMS

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN ADAMS MSS.

PASSY, *December* 5, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — On the twenty first of May, I wrote you a very long letter upon the subject of foreign affairs in general, and particularly in this Country: on the twenty eighth of July, I wrote you another very lengthy letter, on the seventh of August I wrote you again, in answer to yours of 21 June, on the 27 of November I wrote you again. I hope some of these letters have reached you, but so many vessells have been taken that I fear some have miscarried.

I wish I could unbosom myself to you, without Reserve, concerning the state of our affairs here. But you know the Danger. The two Passions, of Ambition and Avarice, which have been the Bane of Liberty, and the great Curse of human kind in all ages and countries, are not without their Influence upon our affairs here. But I fancy the last of the two, has done the most Mischief. Where the Carcas is, there the Crows will assemble, and you and I have had too much Experience of the Greediness, with which the Continental Treasury has been aimed at by many, to expect that the Coffers of the American Banker here, would not make some Mens Mouths water. This appetite for the Bankers Treasures I take to have been the source of most of the Altercations and Dissentions that have happened here. Your old Friend[1] I take to be a Man of Honour and Integrity, yet to be very frank he cannot

1 Arthur Lee.

easily govern his Temper, and he has some Notions of Elegance, Rank and Dignity, that may be carried rather too far. He has been of opinion that the public Money has been too freely issued here, and has often opposed. The other [1] you knew personally, and that he loves his ease, hates to offend, and seldom gives any opinion untill obliged to do it. I know also, and it is necessary you should be informed that he is overwhelmed with a Correspondence from all quarters, most of them upon trifling subjects, and in a mere trifling style; with unmeaning visits from Multitudes of People chiefly from the vanity of having it to say they have seen him.

There is another thing which I am obliged to mention. There are so many private Families Ladies and Gentlemen that he visits so often and they are so fond of him that he cannot well avoid it and so much Intercourse with Accademicians, that all these things together keep his mind in such a constant State of Dissipation that if he is left alone here, the public Business will suffer in a degree beyond description, provided our affairs are continued upon the present footing.

If indeed you take out of his hands the public Treasury, and the Direction of the Frigates and continental Vessells that are sent here, and all Commercial affairs, and intrust them to Persons to be appointed by Congress, at Nantes and Bourdeaux, I should think it would be best to leave him here alone, with such a Secretary as you can confide in.

But if he is left here alone, even with such a secretary, and all maritime and commercial as well as political affairs, and money matters are left in his hands I am perswaded that France and America both will have Reason to repent it. He is not only so indolent, that Business will be neglected; but you know that altho' he has as determined a soul as any Man, yet it is his constant Policy never to say Yes or No decidedly but when he cannot avoid it, and it is certain in order to preserve the Friendship between the two Countries the Minister here must upon some occasions speak freely and without Reserve, preserving Decency and Politeness at the same time. Both he and his Colleague,[2] who is or

1 Benjamin Franklin. 2 Silas Deane.

has been lately with you, were, I am sorry to say in a constant opposition to your old Friend, and this Misunderstanding was no secret, at Court, in the City, or in the seaport Towns, either to French, English or Americans, and this was carried so far, that Insinuations, I have been told have been made at Court, against your old Friend, not by either of his Colleagues, that I know of, but by somebody or other, emboldened by and taking advantage of the Misunderstanding among the three, that he was too friendly to the English, too much attached to Lord Shelborne, and even that he corresponded with his Lordship and communicated Intelligence to him.

This, whoever suggested it, was I am perfectly confident, a cruel Calumny, and could not have made an Impression if the Colleagues had contradicted it in the manner that you and I should have done. You and I had opportunity to know his invariable attachment to our Cause, long enough before Hostilities commenced, and I have not a Colour of Ground for Suspicion, that from that time to this he has deviated an Iota from the Cause of our Country in Thought, Word or Deed. When he left England or soon after, he wrote a Letter of mere Compliment to his Lordship, a mere card to bid him farewell, and received such another in return which he assures me are all the letters that ever passed between them, and I have not a doubt of the Truth of it.

The other Gentleman,[1] whom you know, I need not say much of. You know his ambition, you know his Desire of making a Fortune, of promoting his Relations, you also know his Art, and his Enterprize. Such Characters are often useful, altho always to be carefully watched and controuled, especially in such a Government as ours.

There has been so much said among Americans here and in America, about his making a Fortune, by speculating in English Funds, and by private Trade, that it is saying nothing new to mention it. Our Countrymen will naturally like to know if it is true, and it will be expected of me that I should say something of it. I assure you I know nothing about it. An intimate Friend of his, who recommended the Major to you, certainly speculated

1 Silas Deane.

largely in the Funds, and some Persons suspect that the other was concerned with him. But I know of no Proof that he was.

Combinations, Associations, Copartnerships in Trade, have been formed here, in which he and his Brothers are or have been supposed to be connected, but I know nothing more than you do about them.

But supposing it was proved that he speculated and traded, the Question will arise whether it was justifiable. Neither you nor I should have done it, it is true; But if he did not employ the public Money, nor so much of his own Time, as to neglect the public Business, where is the Harm? That is the Question, and it ought to be remembered that he was here a long time, not as Ambassador, Envoy, Commissioner or Minister, or in any other Trust or Character from Congress, but merely as an Agent for the Committees of Commerce and Correspondence.

Some of the Gentlemen of Character, who are now in America, from this Country, particularly the Minister and Consul, altho their Characters are very good, it is to be feared have had Prejudices insinuated into them against your old Correspondent. I am extremely sorry for this, because I think it is against a worthy Character, and because it will be likely to have unhappy Effects both with you and abroad.

The other Gentleman, whose Consolation when left out by his first Constituents was that he stood well with the Body to which he was sent, consoled himself also when recalled by that Body, with the Thought that he was esteemed by the Court where he had resided. This no doubt, will be displayed in all its variegated Colours. The Letter from the Minister, expressing high Esteem, the Present from an higher Personage, and above all, the Fleet, and the Magnificence that accompanied, will be all repeated, and rung in Changes, in order to magnify Merit. Yet I am sorry to see in your News Papers such expressions as these Mr. —— "who was the principal Negotiator." Such expressions if true ought not to be used, because they have only a tendency to occasion Division and Animosity, and cannot do any Good. But there is cause to doubt the Justice of them. In short I think upon an Examination of the Treaties and a Comparison of them, with the

Treaties and Instructions sent from Congress, I think it is plain that there was not much Negociation or Discussion in the Case. I wish with all my Heart there had been more.

This letter is not so free as I wish to write to you, but still it is too free, to be used without Discretion. You will use it accordingly only for the public Good. Knowing the animosity that has been in two against one here, which I believe to have been carried unwarrantable Lengths, knowing the Inveteracy of many Subaltern and Collateral Characters, which I think is injurious to the Individual as well as the public, and knowing that you have these things, and will have them in Contemplation, and much at Heart I have said thus much of my sentiments upon these subjects, which I hope will do no harm.

Believe me to be your Friend,

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *Decr.* 8th, 1778

My dear Sir, — I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of your several favours of the 3d and 9th of Novr. and likewise of the Curious Extracts per M. Dod and others. I am, as usual, much obliged to you for three favours, but as the Gratifying one Curiosity frequently Excites another, I wish to know how these Accounts have Operated at Philadelphia since the recall. I think you have put your Treasury upon a proper footing and perhaps you will soon find it necessary to make similar Establishments for your other public Boards. I have wrote to the President relative to the money received from Coll. Baldwin and agreable to your desire suspended the matter of resignation for further Consideration.

We have no kind of Intelligence here. I shall write you again soon. in the Meantime am with regards to my other Friends yours assuredly

J. Warren

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

The Navy Board must have another Supply of Money. it is of so little value that it goes off very fast. we paid last Saturday to Mr. Huntington 50,000 dollars for the Ship *Confederacy* and 10,000 to Mr. Cotton for the other Ship.

We have done much Business for the French Squadron and some of it attended with much difficulty, for which we have Charged a Commission, and that after adviseing with General Whipple I hope the Marine Committee will approve of it, and think we are Intitled to it, not supposeing we were to do the Business of the French as well as the American Squadron.

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

Braintree, *December* 10, 1779 [1778]

Nothing but a very bad soar finger has withheld my Hand from writing to my Friend, and telling her that I most sincerely sympathize with her in the late melancholy dispensation of providence towards her, an event tho not unexpected yet when we are calld to the trial of resigning our dear Friends to the grave Nature will recoil, and the Belief of a Glorious immortality can only support the anguish of a bleading Heart, or bring the mind quietly to submit to the allotments of Heaven.[1]

From this and other sources you have reason for consolation, your parent had lived to a good old age with Honour and reputation, the recollection of his virtues will embalm his memory to you

> The sweet remembrance of the just
> Shall flourish when they sleep in Dust.

Nor am I unmindfull of my Friend or less disposed to sympathize with her in an other call which she will soon have to exert her fortitude; this life is well termed a checkerd state; tis wisely orderd so, since with all the visisitudes we pass through we are still strongly attached to it. I rejoice with my Friend that she has the best of earthly comforts to support her, and console her, through the painfull tasks to which she is call'd, there is such a

1 James Otis, her father, died November 9, 1778.

cheering influence, in the Bosom of a Friend, that those only who are deprived of it, can truly estimate its worth.

The most Forlorn and Dismal of all States is that of widowhood, how often does my Heart bleed at thinking how nearly my own Situation is allied to that, nor can I sometimes refrain from wishing that the wisdom of the continent had made choice of some person whose seperation from his partner would have been little or no pain, or mortification — many such might have been found I dare say Heaven can witness for me that I judge not by my own feelings, but from the conduct of too many of my sex.

Two Letters I have had the pleasure of receiving since I saw you, the latest date 27 of August.

Never says the writer was the Spirit of a Nation higher than the French, never Nation had more cause for dejection than England, persons from England say that the general opinion is that Independance will be agree'd to, but be not deceived, it is time enough to believe it when it is fact. he adds do not be anxious about Spain, nor any thing else. Let us sing, o be joyfull! I fancy the writer has imbibed some of the Spirit of the Nation from the climate, he appears to be in high Spirits.

This Letter was wrote more than ten days ago, but my finger was so bad that I could not finish it.

I now propose sending it by my Daughter who earnestly hopes to see plimouth tomorrow. I commit her to the care of a Friend who I hope will advise admonish and direct her, with the same freedom she would one of her own tho large in Stature, she is young in years. My best regards to our worthy suffering Friend Mrs. Lothrope. I never see her but she brings to my mind Shakespears "patience on a Monument smiling at grief."

Love attend Master Henery with his smiling countanance & Master George with his grave senatorial face.

You will be so good as to write often to me. I shall endeavour to fullfill my promise whenever any thing offers worth communicating from your Sincere Friend,

Portia

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLIMOUTH, *December* 15th, 1778

SIR, — I cannot but think myself a sufferer by the Many Captures on American Navigation, for as you are undoubtedly a Gentleman of the strictest Veracity, I must suppose the Watery Damsels that Attend the ouzy Board of the Grey Headed Neptune, are much more Fortunate than the Woodland Dames of America. Otherways Notwithstanding the Bussy and important scenes in which you are ingaged a Folio from the Court of France Must have Reached Braintree, and an octavo sheet at Least would have found its way to Plimouth before this.

But if by thus Frequently seting down the Most Weighty secrets of state, as well as the social Communications of the Friendly Heart, the Dark Counsels of the Deities Below do not Gain an influence sufficient to Embarass your Negotiations, we can better forgive this peculation of the Nereides, or we may suppose the Females beneath, have some Curiosity as well as those who walk upon the surface of a World, where knowledge is circumscribed within such Narrow Limits, and the sex too often forbidden to taste the Golden Fruit.

But perhaps you May have forgot through the Multiplicity of your Avocations, and the Magnitude of the objects, and say surely I Never promissed to write to more than one Lady, on the Western side the Atlantic, but that Lady has furnished me with a written testimony signed by yourself, that the first safe Conveyance should Forward some observations, and Remarks, to Mrs. W——n, which if Collected by Mr. Adams must surely be a treasure.

And I have still a Further Demand upon you. You May Recollect six years ago, at a certain fire side, where many Political plans were Laid, Discussed, and Digested, you said it was your Opinion, the Contest Between Britain and America would not be setled till your sons and my sons were able to Visit, and Negotiate at the Different Courts of Europe. A Lady Replied (though perhaps not from prescience, presentiment, or anything but presumption), that you Must do this Work yourselves, and that she Expected

from you a pleasing Naration of the Different Customs, Manners, Genius, and Taste of Nations with whom we were little acquainted.

You have been absent almost a year, and None are yet arrived. You Must Remember sir, that when we are Descending a precipice the Velocity is much more Rapid than when we Mount, though Expectation points us to the summit, and hope spreads her Wings to accelerate our Motion. And if you postpone your Communications by the year, I Cannot Expect to Receive many, for if no premature stroke precipitates the Moment, the sun will not Revolve Many times round this Inconsiderable Globe before I hope to tread the starry pavement, and look down with pity on the Regalia of princes, the Empires of a Day, the pomp of Royalty, and even the pride of Republican or Aristocratic Grandeur.

I Wrote you a Long Letter Dated October 15th, which went in a packet forwarded by the Count De Estaign. It was Void of poetick Imagery, or any Flights of Fancy, but Contained many solemn Truths, which if that packet arrived safe, were doubtless Corroborated by better Hands.

I write this in a Solitary Hour. Mr. Warren yet at the Navy Board, Exerting all the powers of a Good Head and an Excellent Heart to put the affairs of the American Marine on a Reputable Footing, as far as falls within His Department. We have hitherto been unfortunate by sea, the Causes shall leave for others to Investigate.

Mrs. Adams will Doubtless write you by this Conveyance. She has lately made me an agreable Visit, and I often see her on my way to the Capital: whither I Repair when I Can Leave my Little Family, which now Consists of only my two younger sons in the parlour, the three Elder being at an age that makes it proper they should Leave the parental Roof. probably you do not Remember any of them. But I shall in a few days have a young person with me whom you will Never forget, one Miss Naby Adams, who I expect will spend the Winter at Plimouth.

There are Certain Moments in the Lives of the Greatest philosophers and politicians, when the Mind is Relieved, and Gathers fresh Vigour, from some trivial interruption accidentally thrown in the way. This Reflection quiets the Bussy Monitor within, who

sometimes Wispers, why do you Break in (by Recounting the uninteresting occurrances that fall in your way) on the important Moments of a Gentleman whose time is not his own.

And I wish the same Reflection would have an influence on Him, so far as to unbend his Mind Enough to write a person very Avaritious of the Notices of the Worthy, and of Every Attainable Means of improvement in this scanty portion of Existence.

This Goes by Capt. Landais of the *Alliance* with whom I have a son. I took up my pen Intending only a few Lines to Let you know Notwithstanding the Convulsions of Nations, the Fluctuation of Events and the Vicissitudes of time, there are yet a few, a very few, of your acquaintance whom you most Esteemed in the Days of Tranquility who Remain Invariably the same. Nor Can I Lay it down till I have told you that both you and your Country have lost a Friend in the Death of Coll. Otis: who after long and patiently waiting to be called from his post, Bid Adieu to Mortality the 9th of Nov., 1778, when He paid this Last Debt to Nature. Both public and private Virtue Might justly Mourn the Deceased patron, while a Large tribute of Gratitude Mingled with tears, is Due to the Memory of an Excellent Father. From your unfeigned Friend and Humble Servant [1]

MARCIA WARREN

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [2]

BOSTON, *Decr.* 16th, 1778

MY DEAR SIR, — I am at the Close of a very Busy Day to tell you that all things here remain much in the Situation they were, no new thing haveing lately taken place. Folly and Wickedness stalk abroad with the same shameless rapidity and Confidence they ever have done and find Numbers to keep them in Countenance. Assemblies, Gameing, and the fashionable Amusements Engage the Genteel People, or those who cant be so without

1 A letter from John Adams to Mercy Warren, December 18 [misdated in printing 15], 1778, is in *Writings of John Adams*, IX. 474.

2 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

them, while more Laudable Entertainments Engage others of a different Turn of Mind. As the Seasons of the Year revolve the 22d of December returns next week and again brings us to the Celebration of our Anniversary. I wish I could have your Company again at Plymouth on that Occasion. it would certainly be an additional pleasure. The Papers furnish us with Lists of Delegates Chosen for several States. pray why is Mr. Carroll left out in Maryland. and you perhaps will ask why are some others Chose in another State.

The Inclosed Letter I beg your Care off. it is from Mrs. Warren to a Lady of her Acquaintance sent to Mr. Mathews. I can add no more but that I am assuredly yours, etc.

J. Warren

James Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Plymouth, N. E., *Jany.* 1, 1779

My dear Sir, — I keep no Copies of Letters and therefor am unable to refer to the dates or the Contents. I know I have wrote you many and some of them very Lengthy. the Contents may be of no great Consequence, whether they are lost or received. how many you have wrote me, you can best tell. only one has yet reached me. I have been now ten days from the Capital, and therefore unable to give you such Intelligence as I might if there. however I believe you will not get much from there at this Time, nothing very Remarkable having taken place the last three weeks I was at Boston. The Papers that will be sent by the Navy Board by this Good Oppertunity and your Friend, the Marquis Fayette, will give you every thing you can wish to know from here. The principal Subject of Conversation seems to be a Letter lately published by Mr. Deane, attacking with great Freedom the Character and Conduct of Doctor Lee and, indeed, that of his whole Family.[1] this Letter is neither Elegant or Nervous, is calculated to command the Attention and fix the prejudices of the

1 Probably Deane's "Address" printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, December 5, 1778, and widely copied.

People and is designed to strike deep, as neither Congress or Individuals that compose it are spared. it is no difficult Matter to engage the prejudices of the people in a Country where Jealousy is excited on the Slightest Surmise.

Whether the author has sufficient Grounds for his Charges against Doctor Lee and for his Complaints against Congress, or whether this is a political dust he designs to avail himself of, you can better tell in France than I can here. if Dr. Lee and his Connections are guilty of Treachery or any Misconduct I hope they will be discovered and punished; but I must own at present I doubt it, and some People think the author might as well have bent his attention to clear himself from some Insinuations not much to his advantage. however, let matters be as they may, this has a Tendency to lessen the Confidence of the People in Congress, and to create Factions that may injure the Common Cause. The Tories have by such means a full Swing for their Arts, which they Improve to the greatest Advantage. I say nothing to you of the State of our Currency and other difficulties we have to struggle with. the Enemy still retain N. York and R. Island. the French and English Squadrons are supposed to be gone to the West Indies, from whence we expect great Events. Mrs. Adams writes you by this opportunity. Your pretty Daughter is here on a Winter's Visit to Mrs. Warren. She is very well and wont own that she is not happy. I am with every wish for your Happiness your Friend and Servant[1]

J. Warren

Mercy Warren to Abigail Adams Adams mss.

Jan. 19, 1779

I intended writing my Friend Mrs. Adams when Mr. Thaxter returned but dare say he gave you a satisfactory Reason why I did not. since which many matters have taken up my time. the bussy and the gloomy scenes have alternately played before me

1 A letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, January 6, 1779, is in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 113.

and commanded my Attention almost ever since I left your house with a Heart full of anxiety.

I saw my Father no more as my foreboding Heart presaged. He breathed his last sigh and bid Adieu to mortality before I reached his now Desolate Mansion.

Why was this such a painful Circumstance to me. How inconsistent, how irrational are our Wishes. when the saint is on the Threshold of Eternity and his Lord has commissioned a Messenger to Release him from his Labours and Bestow the Reward shall we wish a Moments Detention, that we may be permited the painful, the terifying satisfaction of standing by his Couch, while the trembling soul is taking Leave of its shattered tenement, and is looking abroad, amidst the Dark, profound, ethereal oeconimy, for a New and more permanent Habitation.

My excellent parent had long done his Work, and was patiently waiting this important Change. He longed to Depart and to be with Christ, and to unite his song of praise with the separate spirit of one whose Life was such that her Children could not be forgiven if they did not arise and call her Blessed, so long as Memory is lent them.

Forgive the fond overflowings of fillial affection, and I will lead you from a subject so unpolite to a more Fashionable theme, to the Disputes of polititions and statsmen. there if any where is Developed the Dark Windings of the Human Heart. How often when they have involved themselves in Guilt, do they send a Hue and Cry for justice to overtake such as are about to Detect them. perhaps we may soon see the Methods taken to exculpate the *knave* were the best Means of Bringing to light the knavery: and had the Former been silent, the odium of the Latter might have been fixed where it was not due, but by opening a Door for a strict scrutiny I hope truth will be Discovered. And punishment and Disgrace will rest where it ought.

If your Little Good Girl is unhappy she Conceals it from me, for she smiles as if she enjoyed herself and says plimouth is as pleasant as either Boston or Braintree. I shall endeavour to keep her in that sentiment as long as I can. if you hear anything from france we are not so immersed in our own Happiness but what she and

I can listen with pleasure, nor would Inteligence from any other quarter be unentertaining handed forward by your pen.

Make my Regards to Mr. Thaxter and to all other Braintree Friends. I will not write what I think of this young gentleman, but when I see you I will tell you.

It gives me pleasure in such a day as this when Vice is strengthened by Fashion, and Crimes are fostered by the appelation of Taste, to see any coming on the stage of action who have understanding and Virtue sufficient to Dare to be Good. but this may be one of the Antiquated Whims of your undisguised Friend [1]

MARCIA WARREN

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [2]

BOSTON, *Feby.* 12th, 1779

MY DEAR SIR, — From the principle that has long Uniformly Influenced my Conduct I went Home to join in the Celebration of our Anniversary, where I had the Misfortune to be taken very Lame, which has detained me till Yesterday, when for the first time I returned here. this only has prevented my acknowledgements of your several favours of Novr. 23d and Jany. 6th, and also the Copy of a Letter from Paris, all which I have Improved in my small Circle to promote the Cause of Truth and patriotism and in support of the Characters of Honest and able patriots against arts and Insinuations which appear to me groundless in their Nature and Infamous in the manner they are done in.

I wish Truth had a more general Influence upon Mankind than it has, and that it was not in the power of designing Men to blind them, or party views to Lead them Astray against that and their own Interest; but we have seen it has done so and I see it now and fear I shall as long as I live. The late publications in Philadelphia are a General Topic here and I suppose all over the Continent. Opinions are as various as Characters and Given with some

1 A letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, February 12, 1779, is in *Writings* of *Samuel Adams*, IV. 123.

2 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

warmth on both Sides. however Baneful Mr. D[eane's] Address may be to our Affairs it finds Advocates here and it is difficult to prevent even many honest Men from being Captivated with an Address that falls in with their Jealousy at a Time when they find themselves uneasy and pressed with many difficulties. but what must the man deserve who while he pretends to be a Patriot can Cooly hazard the ruin of the finest proposals by Exciteing Groundless Jealousies and Animosities when the most perfect Unanimity should subsist to prevent the most desolating ruin. but I hope he and every Body will have their deserts. I may write you more on this subject hereafter when I have had more Opportunity to make my Observations here. As for News I can give you None but what you will find in the Papers.

The Court is setting. I can tell you but little about them. I am told they are upon a new Valuation, a Bill of Confiscation, upon a Tax Bill for 1,000,000 of money, a New Constitution and talk of riseing next week. Your old Friend figures away in the usual Stile. sometimes the pendulum swings one way and sometimes the other — I mean with regard to Whiggism or Toryism, but never fails to swing uniformly against all that wont Bow down and worship a very Silly Image. you will have an Instance in a Letter which I am told has gone forward lately from a Certain Assembly to Congress relating to the Ships here and the Navy Board. this Letter had its rise from him and was Calculated and designed to Carry very Injurious reflections on the Board, but was greatly Amended (to his Mortification) by the other Branch. I believe it contains now but little more than a desire to have the Navy Board under their direction. if Congress think it necessary they should have more Masters they will do it, but I hope at the same time they will appoint one new Member in the room of one old one. I would not detain you longer, but it is necessary you should be acquainted with some Facts. last Decr. the Council requested us to send the *Dean* with their Brigantine *Hazard* down to the Eastward to Attack the Enemy. we represented to them that the Navigation was hazardous and that the force proposed was Insufficient, which was also the Opinion of the Board of War. they then proposed we should Join another Ship,

which we consented to, provided they could furnish us with fifty or sixty Men to man the *Boston* quick, so that they might Sail before the Enemy could know it at Newport and take measures to destroy them, but no such thing was done. we then proposed that they should join the *Hazard* with the *Dean* and go on the Coast of Virginia, where their Force was Adequate to the Service; but the Board of War said the Brigantine was not Built to defend the Coasts of other States, would not agree to it and the Council was quite Inattentive to our Arguments and pressing Solicitations. we were therefore finally obliged to order the *Deane* to that service alone. the *hazard* is Cruiseing for profitable prizes and the Clamour is that we dont take measures to Clear that Coast.

Has Congress reconsidered their Vote for augmenting our Salaries. we have had no official Information of it. I wish to know how the matter stands. if it be on the old Foot I must quit or be ruined. I am your sincere Friend.

[*No signature.*]

My best regards to Mr. Gerry and Mr. Lovel. I wish they would let me know how the world goes. No Body writes to me but you.

The Navy Board has Just received two warrants from your Committee for 100,576 dollars and a promise of 50,000 in Money. My Friend, you must consider this as next to No supply. we have borrowed nearly 50,000 already and paid it away. if we get the 100,000 from the Loan Office in Connecticut, which I dont Expect, it will by no Means supply Huntington, Cotton, and Langdon for the Ships they are Building and Equiping,[1] and we shall not have a penny left for all the other great demands on us. what then becomes of your Navy. you must haul up your Ships or supply us Immediately with a much larger Sum.

1 Joshua Huntington (1751–1821), John Cotton, of Chatham, Conn., and John Langdon, of Portsmouth, N.H. Some letters on the operations of these agents will be found in the Huntington Papers, *Conn. Hist. Soc. Collections*, XX, and in *Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee and Board of Admiralty*, 1776–1780, printed by the Naval History Society.

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

PASSY, *Feb.* 25, 1779

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 1. Jany. was delivered me, by the Marquis de la Fayette. I wish I was as happy as you, in not being obliged to copy my Letters. Sense or Nonsense, frivolous or weighty, I must copy every Line I write, for I know not what Accusations may be brought against me, grounded on my Letters if I do not. My Letters are lyable to more Misfortunes and foul Play too than yours, and I keep no Clerk, so the original and Copy, must be done with these weak Eyes, almost blind with reading and writing; yet every Body complains of me for not writing enough, especially my Wife.

The Address you mention, produced astonishment, here and all over Europe. Yet it seems to be not discountenanced: rather Supported. You have Reason to be confident of Dr. L[ee]'s Integrity and Fidelity — no Man more faithfull, and his Character must be vindicated or no Mans will be safe. I shall not however enter into this Business. He is able to justify himself and willing. You may tell your Lady however, she was not mistaken in the Character she gave me of him.

I shall not enter particularly into the Inconveniences, which must result from such an outrageous Measure as that Address. I wish to know, who will correspond with Us or any Body connected with Us, if they are to be thus exposed. What Prince, Minister or State will confide in Us, if Negociations are thus to be laid open? Where is our Secrecy, or a Possibility of it? Is the Confederation annihilated? Is the Union lost? has Congress so little authority as to be obliged to endure this? God forbid. Yet I think the Probability is that he will succeed, get the two L[ee]'s recalld, and himself appointed to some Trust abroad, if this should be the Case what is to become of Us? at least if this done before they are asked if guilty or not guilty, before they are allowed to defend themselves which I doubt not they can do.

This Publication gave the Ministry a Lift in England, and will hoist the Loan which before labourd. The Capture of St Lucie, also which is just arrived, will give another Spur. Yet the Dis-

contents in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales ought to be terrible to Administration. They can do no great Things against Us.

The only Enemy, of any great Consequence which is left to Us is our Currency. Taxation and Oeconomy, must be the Cry in America. a Depreciation and Appreciation Law must be made. The People will not Succumb to G. B. if the Bills depreciate, untill a Thousand Dollars, must be given for a Silver Shilling. They will not Succumbe to G. B. if our regular Army, was wholly disbanded. For even then the English could not make an Excursion into the Country, from under the Guns of their Men of War, without Militia Men enough turning out to knock them in the Head. The Consumption of British Soldiers and Sailors in the West Indies is like to be such that you need not fear, any great force, with you. The Tories must now act against every Light of Conscience, for they know that we cannot now succumbe to G. B. without having France and Spain upon our Backs.

What C[ongress] will do with the Paper I dont know, but they had better, by a Vote annihilate it all, or call it in to be burned, infinitely, and go over the same ground again ten times than that G. B. should prevail. Burn it all with my good Will. My share shall go to the Flames with the utmost cheerfulness. call it all in, in a Loan if you will, but then dont let it stand at Sterling Standard to be redeemed. This would be greater Injustice than to burn it all.

This vile Paper discourages and disheartens the Whiggs, and emboldens the Tories, more than it ought. blow it away, any way. Many have a Prejudice, that our Independance is connected with it. Convince both sides that our Independance dont depend upon that. That our Plate, our Stocks and all shall go rather than our Sovereignty depend upon it. It is worth them all and more, nay our Houses and Farms into the Bargain.

Our Remedy is so simple, that I am astonished, there should be the least Hesitation about it, in the Mind of the most ignorant and mean of the People.

Taxation alone, is amply Sufficient to carry on our Share of the War in future. I am sure that the thirteen States can raise Money

enough if they will to bear all their future Expences as they rise. if the People are so blind, blockish and stupid, as not to see it and be willing for it, it is a Pity.

But the Delirium that rages, is enough to discourage every Man of Virtue and Honour, the Foppery, the Avarice, the Ambition, the Vanity, the Rage, the Fury, is enough to induce every Man of Sense and Virtue to abandon such an execrable Race, to their own Perdition, and if they could be ruined alone it would be just. There is Cause to fear that our Countrymen and Women, after having astonished the Universe by their Wisdom and Virtue, will become a Spectacle of Contempt and Derision to the foolish and wicked, and of Grief and shame to the wise among Mankind, and all this in the Space of a few Years.

I see so much Corruption, wherever I cast my Eyes. I see the virtuous few struggling against it, with so little success, that a Retreat infinitely less Splendid than that of Pythagoras, at the Head of a little school to teach a few Children the Elements of Knowledge would be a kind of Heaven to me. I have the Honour to be reduced to a private Citizen and if I could remain there without an eternal Clamour, no Consideration in the World should induce me ever again to rise out of it. But you know the Noise, the Lyes, the Slanders, the stupid Groans and Lamentations, that would be raised at such a Resolution.

However let them groan and hiss and curse as they will, I will never be again with my own Consent the sport of wise Men nor Fools.

[*No signature.*]

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *Feby.* 28th, 1779

My Dear Sir, — I have received yours of the 11th Instant. Your Apprehensions are so far just that the honest and virtuous friends to their Country do not Indeed unite their Councils and Efforts; but it rather proceeds from Inattention and a Multi-

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

plicity of Business and other pursuits than from a want of Esteem and the prevalence of Jealousies among them. I have a great Opinion of Mr. Dana's Political Principles and Conduct, but from the Constant Attention he gives to the Executive and General Courts I never have an Opportunity to see him. I have not once met him in three months and Consequently have never yet been able to ask the Question you authorised me to do. any Intercourse with him is rendered more difficult by his always returning Home when he is not prevented by Urgent Business. I am sensible the Torrent you mention should be Stemmed, and of the fatal Consequences of the Manners you mention, as well as of the Policy of some People here; but we are a rope of Sand without any Cement. some of us are too much Engaged and others too Inattentive to get any thing done. the Little Leisure I have is Imployed in my small Efforts, for which in some Companies I get the Character of an old Fashioned Fellow, and in others of a strong Party Man. I fear you have a hard Task where you are. I hope it will not prey on your Spirits or Injure your Health. I am fully persuaded of the Existence of such a Combination as you mention in Doctr. Cooper. We have Instances of it here with regard to you, and my other Friends at Congress. last Winter the Art was to hold you up as an Enemy to General Washington; now it is to prejudice the People against the Lees, and to propagate that you are a Friend to them, and at Last the matter has been Carried so far as to obtain a Vote in the House for a Committee to Consider the Propriety of recalling three of their Delegates and sending three now here. tho' this would not only be Affrontive to you, but also an Implicit Censure on the Measures you have adopted, yet every Art has been practised to Effect it and among others the Measure for preparing materials for a Fleet on the Lakes at Saratoga, and an Expedition into Canada that way is Absurdly given as a reason. while no Body can doubt that you are all against it. but I believe it will not Succeed. the Court is to rise Tomorrow.

And now I must say a little to you about the Navy Board and Confess to you that I am Extreemly surprised at your last Letter from the Marine Committee. have they no kind of Confidence in the Members of the Navy Board here, and do they wish to hold

them up to the Officers of the Navy in a Contemptible Light. if not why are not your Orders directed to them, to be given to the Commanders, and in most Cases at least some discretion of theirs to be used, instead of that of the Captains. I own I am Mortifyed and will not long submit to it. You should have [some one] at this Board you can place Confidence in. if we are not such, you should displace us and appoint others. it is Impossible you can Judge 300 Miles of. if the Conduct of the *Raleigh* had been left to us she would probably have been saved, and She and the *Dean* would have Effected the Service you wished for, and made a Cruise. and yet you have Committed in my Humble Opinion a greater Error in ordering the *Queen of France* on the Coast of Virginia alone, and to be followed by the *Ranger* and then the *Confederacy*. the *Ranger* will sail with her, but in my Opinion they will both be lost. I am Confident no Merchant would Insure them for eighty per ct. one frigate will take them both. if they should Escape being taken by the Enemy they will get Nothing and then there will be an End of your Maning your Ships here. I think we had formed a Grand Plan, if you had permitted us to Execute it. but I will not have the Reputation of the present one. it shall be known whose Orders they sail under.

Your Committee has never given their disapprobation to our takeing the Commission Charged Mr. Holker for Business done for the French Fleet, which I Construe as an Approbation and shall, as I think we justly may and ought to do, take them, as he has paid them to us. Am I right. Adeu. Your Friend

J. Warren

Yesterday we had the agreable Account of the Arrival of a Spanish Frigate at Philadelphia and that an Alliance is formed with Spain; that she has brought a large Sum of Hard Money, upon which Gold and Silver and Goods had fallen at a Great rate. I wish half of it may prove true.

Richard Henry Lee to James Warren

Philadelphia, *March* 6th, 1779

Sir, — I thank you very sincerely for your kindness in forwarding the parcel of bark by Mr. Brailsford, which I have received in good order, and would thankfully have paid that gentleman for his trouble in the carriage, but his civility would not suffer him to receive anything. I have no doubt, Sir, but that the same goodness which has forwarded this parcel of bark, will contrive the other by the first convenient opportunity. This is a medicine rendered necessary in my family from situation and climate which expose us to intermitting fevers. Indeed long habit has made its constant use indispensable to me.

I am extremely sensible, Sir, of your obliging sentiments of me and my family, and I hope we shall continue to deserve them. If all men like General Warren possessed wisdom, integrity, and discernment, such characters as Mr. Deane and his Adherents would never disgrace public employments, or venture upon such experiments as have lately been made on the public. However, indiscernment begins now to discern, and even the interested friends of Mr. Deane seem ashamed to support him. It will be happy for him if resentment rises no higher than contempt.

I have the honor to be with singular respect and esteem Sir your most obliged and very humble Servant,

Richard Henry Lee

Mercy Warren to Abigail Adams Adams mss.

Plimouth, *March* 19, 1779

If anything would awake the sleeping Muses or call back the Wandering Deities the Imagery of this Delightful Morn when the hand of Nature has decorated every twig with spangles of peculiar Briliancy, joined with the Repeated Request of my Friend would not fail to do it. the subject you point out requires Heroics. But alas! Clio is Deaf, perhaps irrevocably stunned till the Noise of

War shall cease. The Harmony of Calliope suffers by the jaring of patriots, and Melpomene is starved amidst the General Cry for Bread.

In short, I believe the famed Nine sickened by the unpromising aspect of this Decayed Village, (once the Asylum of piety) and grown weary of their old Friend, sensible they had heretofore made a Lodgment in an unthrifty soil, have bid an Everlasting Adieu. And as their Ladyships have taken Wing (probably in pursuit of some more happy Clime,) I hope they will not rest till they light on the Head of some Votive Genius whose productions will do honour to the Admired Train, as well as to the Cold Regions of the North.

But if they should ever condescend again to make a Temporary Visit to one almost secluded from society, (which Brightens the Ideas and gives a polish to Expression) you may Depend upon it your absent partner will not be forgot. but at present you must be content to let me tell you in plain prose that I think him *Honest.* that if by living among the Refinements of polititions and Courtiers, his Integrity should be undermined, or his taste perverted, my Motto to every Character in Future shall be, That Man is all a Lye.

I return you a Letter with thanks for the perusal. wish if proper you would forward some others when you send for your Daughter who I really love, and love her the more the longer she resides with me.

In future I shall call her my Naby and Back my Claim with the promise of her papah to whom I shall appeal if you Monopolize too much.

You do not tell me why you was so confident I had a Letter from France. Depend upon it you shall see it when I have. I think I might expect two or three in a year, if it was only a Complimentary Return for the Many Visits made a Lady, by a Gentleman with regard to whom were it in my power, I should Discover perhaps too much of the spirit of the times, by engrossing his hours wholly to myself, and to a Number of amiable youth, but he is impeled by a Coincidence of Circumstance to a style of Life not agreeable to his taste. Call me *Miserly* if you please, yet I am

sensible you can, you may feelingly join with me and the Bonny Scotch Lass, and warble the Mournful Chorus

> From Morn to Eve,
> There's Little pleasure in the Room,
> When my Good Man's awaw.

I shall return a Number of Letters with a Manuscript Volume by Miss N[abb]y. it has been an agreable Entertainment to me, and when you come to Plimouth which I hope will be within a few weeks I shall endeavour to make all the Retaliation in my power.

You ask what I think of the Late Dispute among the higher powers of America. I know little of it except what is in the public papers, where I think may be discovered the precipitation and timidity of Guilt in a certain Indiscreet writer yet I like not the Expression of *Englifyed American*, which I saw dropped from a pen I view in a very different Light.

I shall only Gently Remind you that your promise is not yet compleated of writing much and frequently through the Course of the Winter, to her who subscribes your affectionate Friend[1]

M. Warren

James Warren to Samuel Adams[2]

Boston, *March* 30th, 1779

My Dear Sir, — I have for sometime been Exceeding Uneasy about you. it has been reported here that you are in Bad Health, and I cant reconcile myself to be easy while anything prevents your Services to your Country, at a Time when it so much wants Able and Honest Men. I hope this report is without foundation, but your long Silence seems to be a Confirmation of the Truth of it. I shall Earnestly Expect a Letter by the Post To morrow in answer to the several Letters I have wrote you. Our Speculations here are Employed upon the Mighty Secret Congress is possessed

1 A letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, March 23, 1779, is in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, iv. 139.

2 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

off and the great Business before them. the Ingenuity of our politicians has been Exhausted and their patience wore out. they now begin to be Content with supposeing that propositions of Peace have some how been made to you and that you are Considering the Terms. this alone is no small Object. I have always had my Apprehensions of danger from Negotiations of this Kind. the designs of the disaffected, the Views of the Interested, will have their Influence upon the Timidity of some and Weakness of others to precipitate us into rash and sudden Concessions. The doctrine that almost any peace is preferable to a Continuance of the war is a dangerous one, because it pleases the Feelings and Taste of the Many who have abandoned every valuable Consideration to a rage for Ease, Luxurious Living and Expensive diversions. in Short we are arrived to that Stage of Civilization and polished Manners which I think Incompatible with public or private Virtue, and therefore worse than Barbarism. I wish for Peace, but had rather the War should Continue the remaining part of my Life than Accept a Peace on Bad Terms.

What are to be the Military Operations of this Summer. is there a judicious plan, or are there to be any wild Romantic Expeditions that promise nothing but Expense, Loss and disappointment, Except serving the purposes of falling in with the Views of the Dons of ——. I have not a word of News to tell you. we anxiously wait for Intelligence from Georgia. I saw Mrs. Adams a few days ago very well. I am yours Sincerely

J. W.

I am very happy here in our Friend General Gates, but I fear he is to leave us soon. he is a true Genuine Republican of sterling virtue, etc., etc.

George Washington to James Warren

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, *Mar.* 31, 1779

Dear Sir, — I beseech you not to ascribe my delay in answering your obliging favour of the 16th of Decr. to disrespect, or want

of inclination to continue a corrispondance in which I have always taken pleasure, and thought myself honored.

Your letter of the above date came to my hand in Philadelphia, where I attended at the request of Congress to settle some important matters respecting the Army and its future operations; and where I was detained till some time in Febru'y. during that period my time was so much occupied by the immediate and pressing business which carried me there, that I could attend to little else; and upon my return to Camp I found the ordinary business of the army had run so much behind hand, that together with the arrangements I had to carry into execution no leizure was left me to indulge myself sooner in making the acknowledgment I am now about to do, of the pleasure I felt at finding that I still enjoyed a share of your confidence and esteem, and now and then would be informed of it by letter. believe me Sir when I add, that this proof of your holding me in remembrance, is most pleasing and acceptable.

Our conflict is not like to cease so soon as every good man would wish. The measure of inequity is not yet filled, and unless we can return a little more to first principles, and act a little more upon patriotic grounds, I do not know when it will, or, what may be the issue of the contest. Speculation, peculation, engrossing, forestalling, with all their concomitants, afford too many melancholy proofs of the decay of public virtue; and too glaring instances of its being the interest and desire of too many, who would wish to be thought friends, to continue the War.

Nothing I am convinced but the depreciation of our currency proceeding in a great measure from the foregoing causes, aided by stock jobbing and party dissentions, has fed the hopes of the enemy and kept the Arms of Briton in America untill now. They do not scruple to declare this themselves, and add that, we shall be our own conquerors. Cannot our common Country (America) possess virtue enough to disappoint them? Is the consideration of a little dirty pelf, to individuals, to be placed in competition with the essential rights and liberties of the present generation, and of millions yet unborn? shall a few designing men for their own aggrandizement, and to gratify their own avarice, overset

the goodly fabric we have been rearing at the expence of so much time, blood, and treasure? and shall we at last become the victims of our own abominable lust of gain? Forbid it heaven! forbid it all, and every state in the union! by enacting and enforcing, efficatious laws for checking the growth of these monstrous evils, and restoring matters in some degree to the pristine state they were in at the commencement of the War. Our cause is noble, it is the cause of Mankind! and the danger to it springs from ourselves. Shall we slumber and sleep then while we should be punishing those miscreants who have brought these troubles upon us, and who are aiming to continue us in them? While we should be striving to fill our Battalions, and devising ways and means to appreciate the currency, on the credit of which every thing depends? I hope not, let vigorous measures be adopted, not to limit the price of articles, for this I conceive is inconsistent with the very nature of things, and impracticable in itself, but to punish speculators, forestallers, and extortioners, and above all, to sink the money by heavy Taxes. To promote public and private oeconomy, encourage manufactures etca. Measure of this sort gone heartily into by the several states, will strike at once at the root of all our misfortunes, and give the coup-de-grace to British hope of subjugating this great Continent, either by their Arms or their Arts. The first as I have before observed they acknowledge is unequal to the task, the latter I am sure will be so if we are not lost to every thing that is good and virtuous.

A little time now, must unfold in some degree, the Enemy's designs. Whether the state of affairs in Europe will permit them to augment their Army with more than recruits for the Regiments now in America, and therewith attempt an active and vigorous campain, or whether with their Canadian and Florida force they will aid and abet the Indians in ravaging on our Western Frontier, while their shipping with detachments harrass (and if they mean to prosecute the predatory War threatned by Administration through their Commissioners) burn and destroy our Seacoast, or whether contrary to expectation they are more disposed to negotiate than to either, is more than I can determine. The latter will depend very much on their apprehensions of Spain, and

their own foreign alliances. At present we seem to be in a Chaos but this cannot last long, as I presume the ultimate determination of the British Court will be developed at the meeting of Parliament after the hollidays.

Mrs. Washington joins me in a tender of cordial wishes and best respects to Mrs. Warren. she would have done herself the pleasure of writing but the present conveyance by Cap. Gilman to Boston was sudden. I am, with sincere esteem and regard Dr. Sir. Yr. Most Obedt. Ser.

Go. Washington

Samuel Adams to James Warren

My dear Sir, — Mr. Hodgdon forwarded to me your Letter of April. I thank you for the Concern you express for my Health. It is a Blessing which I have less enjoyd the Winter past than in any equal Part of my Life. I hope by the Blessing of God to recover it when I may have the Pleasure of living in my own Country.

We have had on the Carpet Questions relating to our Ministers abroad — Whether they should be recalled. It was agreed that the Question be put severally with Respect to Each. A Majority of Voices were against the Recall of Doctor Franklin, though some Gentlemen spoke warmly against him.[1] *That*, for the Recall of Dr. Lee, met with an equal Division, and so it was lost.[2] I will only remark to you that after long Debates, in which as great Freedoms, I suppose, were used as could be consistently with Decency and Truth, his Abilities, his Integrity and warm Attachment to America remain unimpeachable. It is unfortunate when Attempts are made to remove a Servant of the Publick, whose Fidelity shines the brighter, the more his Conduct is sifted, but so it will happen when others wish to supplant him. I do not say this is the Case at present. I hope there is no Motive more unworthy; but I will not answer for all among the Thousands in America, who may conceive themselves fit for important Trusts,

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xiii. 500. 2 *Ib.*, xiv. 542.

and some of them may shortly offer themselves with a View of serving such Purposes as may not be agreable to others. I suspect from a Letter which I have heard publickly read that our Friend J. A[dams] is or will be as obnoxious to a Party as Dr. F[ranklin] and Dr. Lee, and for the same Reason. But I will tell you all when I see you. Pray inform Mr. Story that his Petition is referrd to the Treasury and that I expect it will have a favorable Issue. Be so good as to let Mrs. A. know that I am well, but have not Time to write to her now. Adieu my Friend. Yr. affectionate

S. A——

May 11th, '79.

James Warren to Mercy Warren

Boston, *June* 6th, 1779

My dear Mercy, — I have read one Excellent Sermon this day and heard two others. What next can I do better than write to a Saint. What if she has Trembling Nerves and a palpitating Heart. She has good Sense she has Exalted Virtue and refined Piety. She is amiable even in that Weakness which is the Consequence of the Exquisite delicacy and softness of her Sex. She would be so to me if she had more of that rough fortitude which the Times and the Circumstances pictured in her Letter of the 2d Instant read yesterday may seem to you to require. All Nature is a Mystery. Why then should I Attempt to Explore the reasons and to say how it is that a Mind, possessed of a Masculine Genius well stocked with Learning, fortified by Phylosophy and Religion, should be so easily Impressed by the adverse Circumstances or Inconveniences of this World; but this will happen whether we can account for it or Not. a brilliant and Busy Imagination often if not always Accompanys great qualities. It Commands Admiration but is often Mischievous and when yours is not directed to the bright side of things, I often wish it as Sluggish as my own, but I long to Banter and Laugh you out of your whimsical Gloom. What! want Fortitude because I have Faith, curious indeed; be un-

hinged because self Interest Wickedness and Wicked Men Abound. When was it Otherwise — it is Glorious to defeat them "and after all the Struggle" what? Why secure to ourselves and Entail to Posterity Independence, Peace and Happiness. This is a Subject for an Heroic Poem — rouse therefore Your Muse. Tune it with Nervous harmony to Celebrate the Success of this great Struggle and the Characters of those whose Integrity and Virtue have defeated the Policy and Force of our Enemies and above all that Providence by whose direction I verily believe without a doubt we shall be saved. "I cant go to Congress, I wont go." Who would not with the Assurance of such good Company. I never thought of it before, you gave such great Encouragement. Sure it would be a Charming ride to shake of the Chagrin and it might be made on Grand Principles. If it be now more difficult and dangerous than ever it will be more glorious in proportion. If you fie on the Sentiment as roman Enthusiasm I call on you to Contest it. If it be Just you must practise upon it. What signify Sentiments without Exciting virtuous practise. But they did not choose me, so there is an End of all my Enthusiasm and your fears. Genl. Ward is Chose. however I will claim a little Merit with you if it be at the Expense of the prophecies of my sweet Prophetess. I prevented my own and promoted his Choice. Her little trembling Nerves was among the Influential reasons. The Others I will tell you at Another Time, only be assured for the present despair of the Cause was not Among them. I think there will soon be Another Choice — perhaps two. will you go if I will.[1]

We have an Account that the Enemy are gone up North River. Some say they have destroyed Peeks Hill. They will Catch a Tartar and a dire flogging soon. Why should I not prophecy as well as other Folks? My next may tell you of a Grand Fleet of our Allies in these Seas, of successful operations in Europe or the West Indies, etc., etc, to make your Heart beat with Joy instead of anxiety. Two ships are now coming in; perhaps they may bring the News I wish for. if not we shall have it. I Expect to get three ships away this week, to have some Share in raising an Army and laying a Tax to support it, and then to fly on the wings of

1 The choice fell upon George Partridge and Artemas Ward.

Love to the Arms of a Beloved Wife whose I am with the Greatest Affection

J. Warren

No Rain yet Oh, Dismal. I dread a drought more than the Arms of Britain or the policy of Villains.

I wrote you yesterday by Coll. Freeman. Perhaps I shall write you again Tomorrow. You cant help it if you would, nor can I if an oppy presents and I can get a Minutes Time. Take care of your Health that I may have the pleasure of seeing you well. I am glad to hear Mrs. Lothrop Continues to grow better. My Love to her and the Boys.

Monday Morning. How do you do this fine Cool Morning? I hope very well. I am persuaded the Faintness and Languor and Complained of was oweing to the first comeing of warm weather. Perhaps that has an Influence on the Mind and Spirits. I am Nothing is a very humble Sentiment. Did ever such an Idea pass over the Imagination of a Poet before. If it returns I advise you to set down and write a Satyr on Villains, — there are enough of them. If not — take in the Fools then I am sure you will have enough. I am sure the remedy will succeed and you will feel a Laudable Pride. The Ship in last Night is a prize of the *Boston* — a French Ship from So Carolina to France taken by a York Privateer and retaken by the *Boston.*

James Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Boston, N. England, *June* 13, 1779

Dear Sir, — The *Providence* Frigate and a Packet have been long held in readiness to proceed to France. the first is now ordered to another service and we have yet no orders for the last. this is to go by a small private Vessel accidentally met with. I dare say you experience in common with us the Inconveniences of the little Intercourse between Europe and America, and wish with the same Anxiety to hear from here that we often do from Europe. We seldom hear what is acting on your Great Stage, and

when we do it is very general, that great preparations still continue to be made in France and Spain and of numbers of prizes carried into their Ports without any declaration of War, etc. with regard to us I presume the many Letters you will have by this opportunity will give you better Information than my Time and other Circumstances will admit off. The Campaigne is now fully opened, at least on the side of the Enemy, and seems to be carrying on with more vigour, and in a different Manner from former ones. they early made a descent on Georgia with a Considerable Force, where they have supported themselves much longer than was at first expected, and if the Climate don't do more for us than the Exertions and military prowess of the Southern States, I fear they will penetrate as far as Charlestown, tho we have no late Intelligence on which to ground any perticular Accounts of the State of things in that quarter. A strong detachment of the Army from New York with such Naval Force as they were able to Muster have made a Sudden Attack upon Virginia, destroyed Portsmouth in that State, and done considerable other damage, and as suddenly returned and gone up the North River, where they still remain fortifying some places and endeavouring to possess themselves of others. this military finess gives us reason to apprehend they may next play the same Game somewhere else, and perhaps some parts of the Eastern States may be the Objects of the next Maneuvre. we are therefore preparing for them, but the State of our Currency, and the selfish avaricious Spirit prevailing here, have almost extinguished the remains of Patriotism you left, created innumerable difficulties and rendered our exertions languid. However Means are taking and I hope will be effectual to rouse the People to a Sense of their true Interest and to excite them again vigorously to Unite in repelling the common danger. Near 3000 men are now raising here to join the Army as soon as possible and our Militia are all ordered to be held in readiness at a minutes warning, but our greatest difficulties are the amazing depreciation of our Money and the scarcity of provisions, especially Bread. you may form some idea of them from the price of Board in this Town from 45 to 50 dollars per week, and of the first from the prices of Molasses 8 dollars gallon, tho' plenty here

and every thing in the same or greater proportion, Bohea Tea 40 dollars per lb., and of the last from the prices of Indian corn 40 dollars per bushel, and meat from 6/ to 8/ per lb. all European Goods are also excessive high. if the Subject was not serious and melancholy, it would be laughable to hear the rates of Gauze and other Geugaws, and to see the eagerness with which they are purchased, and to observe the Vanity, Folly and Extravagance which infests all ranks of People in their Dress, and Liveing. Every Bodys Invention has been strained to find a remedy without success. Taxation seems to be the only one, and to that we have got pretty well reconciled. the General Assembly freely granted a Tax of £1,000,000. last winter that is now collecting with little grumbling, or difficulty. we have already this Session without much debate, voted another of £2,800,000. part of which is to discharge 6 Million of dollars, our proportion of 45 Million required of the several States by Congress, so you will understand that we deal in our Millions as well as Britain, and raise them as easily. it would require a volume to give you a minute detail of our situation. the above Sketch must suffice for the present. if you ask where our Army is I answer I believe the Main Body are in the Jersies. if you ask what they are doing, I cant tell.

With regard to our Naval Affairs, you may expect I should speak with more precision, as I am still drudging at the Navy Board for a morsel of Bread, while others, and among them fellows who would have cleaned my shoes five years ago, have amassed fortunes, and are riding in chariots. were you to be set down here you could not realize what you would see. you would think you was upon enchanted Ground in a world turned topsy turvy, beyond the description of Hogarths humourous pencil or Churchills Satyr. but to take up my thread.

The French Squadron has made such a diversion in the West Indies, that we have been but little troubled with their frigates, and indeed they have but very few Ships on these Stations. our frigates and privateers have succeeded accordingly and made many prizes, and among others taken several privateers and Vessels of Force as you will see by the Papers we send by this Vessel. Adams, Gerry, Lovel, and Holton are still at Congress.

Mr. Adams has been unwell and is expected here every day. he is returned a Member for this Town and is chose a Councellor, so he has his option of two Seats. which he will take I dont know. Mr. Dana returned last August, and has remained ever since and I believe will not go again. H[ancoc]k has been once but was gone but about six weeks. he tarried at Congress but about 2 weeks. the air of Philadelphia did not suit him on a Common Seat, he returned for better Health. he is now Speaker of our House, and a sinecure delegate of Congress. the last serves as a feather among others in his cap, to decorate an Illustrious Speaker. Mr. Edwards was chose last winter, has resigned. Gen'l Ward is chose in his room whether he will go I cant say. Your Friend and Servant who is now a Member of the House might have been chose but prevented it, and promoted the other. The Letters I forward from your good Lady will inform you of her welfare. I can only add that I am as I ever was Your Assured Friend and Humble Servant,

J. Warren

Do let me know what you are, a Plenipo., a Commissioner, or what, that I may address properly, be you which of them you may you are an object of Envy. There is a Combination Political and Commercial that would supplant you and all your Brethren in Europe if they could. they wish to be able to establish their Aristocratic Principles and to make their fortunes at the same time. this Party neither like the political principles, or manners of N. England, and at the same time they fear them. you know them. part of their policy therefore is to reduce their trade, and consequently their power and influence. what would more effectually do that than by ceding all right and claim to the fishery to get a Peace. rather than see us flourish, they would be content that America should never be a Maritime Power. I want to say more on this Subject, but I think I wont. if our Allies should fall into their views, they must dismiss all expectations of Trade from us, we shall have nothing to give them. Your Predecessor has made a great racket here, and blew up a flame that I apprehended Mischief from, but the poor Man is fallen by his own devices, and

the Characters of the Lees are established. if I had a good Memory I should quote a Text from the Book of Proverbs applicable to this matter.

JAMES LOVELL TO JAMES WARREN

June 15th, 1779

GENERAL WARREN,—As Mr. Adams is on his Journey to Boston it is not essential that I should now write minutely, relative to the Points which have been agitated here lately; all proper Communications will be made to you by him in a Way to which an Epistle is only a secondary Satisfaction. He will also give you the whole of what has reached us yet from Sth. Carolina, touching the good Fortune of Genl. Lincoln. But these Considerations would not acquit me to myself if I neglected thus early to acknowledge my Obligations to you for the obliging Expression of your "Desire to be considered as my Friend," contained in your Letter of May 30th which reached me the Night before last. Be assured, dear Sir, that you have hereby liquidated a full Page in my Book of Sufferings. There was a Season when I counted upon Thousands and Tens of Thousands; but, for several Months back I have been fully persuaded that all my Hazards Toils and Watchings were to be recompensed by the Approbation of a *virtuous Few*. I wish the "unusual Anxiety and Weights upon your Spirits" may be thrown off so far as it was occasioned by the Ultimata which are one time or other to be debated here: I cannot but think a decent Coalition *would* take Place among such as it is supposed *will* differ, from local Interests or varied Degrees of Resolution. I believe our Ally intends well for us. But such Belief does not warrant the laying aside political Watchfulness: Nor should the Exertion of this occasion any Disgust in those who feel themselves to be thoroughly well intentioned. If, after Conversation with Mr. S. A[dams] you wish Informations may be sent from this Place respecting the Result of Points not quite decided when he left us relative to Cod and Hadock, I will endeavor to give you all the Satisfaction my Circumstances will allow. You will always consider the Distinc-

tion between catching and *drying*, being Rights with widely differing Foundations.[1]

As to our Money, it cannot be mended but by stopping the Press. Taxes, if the States should even comply punctually with our Recommendations, which their past Conduct does not warrant us to look for, will not answer by themselves. We are about to borrow 20 Millions of the People on probable temptations.[2] But can we offer Interest in exact Proportion to Exchange to such Persons as *now* may be disposed to lend, and not pay the same to those who have *formerly* lent. I think not. We did equal Justice when we offered Bills on France. We must do the same at this Time. Give 6 per Cent conditional, to rise in proportion to the *Quantity* in Circulation at the Date of the Certificate and the Due of Interest; [3] as, unavoidably, Something of an Emission must go on, till we are otherwise supplied. For my Part, I think such a Measure would alone be sufficient to obtain much Money.

Some Thoughts are suggested of holding the Principal till the Currency shall be 1/8 appreciated; but this is holding up no Temptation, for, if the Press is stopped, the Appreciation would inevitably be 1/8 in a very short Term indeed.

If the "Sacrifice of Consistency" which you justly notice was made in a Case where there were Abilities of a Size to produce any great Events, I should be more chagrined than I am at observing the public Want of a republican Delicacy in the Case stated.

I am sorry that the Opportunities for Holland were not the Carriers of my Letters as I have been unlucky here. Our worthy Friend John Adams must think I neglect him in his very odd Situation. We are ripening towards Measures which must induce an immediate and definite consequential Disposition of him, and I have no doubt of an honorable one. As to the Assents and Dissents in our tragicomical Journals, the Grounds of them are hard to be fathomed; and the Case you mention is a very delicate one; I dare venture, however, to say that it is not to be accounted for by *Want* of Honesty, but rather by the Quantity of that Species

1 Fishery provisions in the treaty of peace.
2 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIV. 717.
3 "or Depreciation" is written in the margin.

which puts us off of Guard against the Arts of designing Men.

By hearsay or conjecture you are become so much Master of my Situation, that I shall have no great Fears of your Reproof, if, feeling half as unwell from Watching as I do at present, I shall, now and then, omit a direct Return to your kind Correspondence. I slight my Feelings, at this Time, to prove my ready acceptance of the Intercourse to which you so pleasingly have provoked

Your most humble Servant,

James Lovell

James Lovell to James Warren

Confidential. *July* 13th, 1779

Dear Sir, — Three days ago I wrote to Mr. Adams inclosing Papers that show the Spirit of the Parties in a certain little-great Assembly. I must ingeniously acknowledge to you that if I had been properly convinced that Gr: Britain was seriously disposed for Peace, I should have rested on an Instruction to our Plenipotentiary "*in no case to give up* a common right of Fishery." But I have seen Reason to wish for a *Stipulation* that Britain shall not *disturb us in the Exercise of that Right.* If France can harbour no too-interested Views in regard to that grand Branch of Commerce, Britain surely would make every advantage of our Inattention to it at the Hour of Peacemaking. And it has seemed to me as if some Persons here were much more bent upon coaxing than upon forcing a Peace from our Enemy; We are told that Passengers and Letters are put on shore in Nth. Carolina from a Vessel arrived in Cheseapeak which left Rochelle the 10th of May. We have not had a Line from our Appointments in France for a long Season. Mr. Gerard recd. Letters via Boston, as mentioned in yr. Gazettes but they were not of very modern date.

We had a Communication from him in a private Audience [1] Yesterday but under the Injunctions of the House for Secrecy, so that A and B will be stigmatized if they communicate the Substance in a private confidential Letter, should they be dis-

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xiv. 821.

covered, while C and D, under the Signature of *Americanus* or *O Tempora O Mores*, may publish the whole to the World in a News Paper.

I find that Gentlemen in your Neighborhood are rather backward to accept a Delegation to Congress. The Reasons lay fair to Conjecture. Some cannot in Conscience and Honor hold several Appointments incompatible with each other; and Some cannot bring themselves to consent to sacrifice Time, Health and Estate for a Station of abundant Anxiety and an equal Portion of Obloquy. I presume that all new elected Members ought to come forward before an old one though he has had a whole years Respite. One of your State would have had a terrible time here for several months back if he had been an acting Delegate. He must have gone against the Interests of his Constituents or the Designs of his favorite old Associates.

Mrs. Lovell writes that *you* had a Confirmation of the Sth. Carolina good news by a Vessel in at the Hyannas. I am sorry for that preparatory Contrast to what I now must tell you. The Print of last Tuesday is Full on the Head of Disappointment; and Genl. Lincoln writes me June 5th: "Matters are not going on right here and if this Department is not immediately attended to by Congress and an army sent more respectable than the one already here, this State must be lost. You will see by my Letter to Congress that by the 10th of Augst. there will be but few troops on the Ground unless reinforcements arrive, *which I have little reason to expect.*" I will not venture to write to you concerning the State of our *grand* army. I will leave that for Major Rice[1] to tell with the Minute Anecdotes of the Southern Department. With Esteem and Affection your humb Servt.

J. L.

1 Nathan Rice, aid to General Lincoln.

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLYMOUTH, N. E., *July* 29th, 1779

MY DEAR SIR, — I am told that in the few Letters which have been received from you here you complain greatly that your Friends dont write to you oftener, and that you seldom hear from America. I easily conceive such a Situation painful, and have contributed my mite to prevent it by writing by every good opportunity and long Letters too, for I know that People in high Stations have their Curiosity as well as others, and if they assume Brevity themselves in their Letters, they love to have matters in detail from others. upon this Principle I filled a large sheet which went six weeks ago per Capt. Thompson in a little flying Schooner, which I dare say will run clear and deliver you the Letter in safety, and make it unnecessary to be lengthy in this. Our Spirits have been alternately raised and depressed by the accounts we have had at different times from South Carolina, sometimes the British Army has been wholly routed, and destroyed, and at others were advancing with a prospect of carrying Charlestown, in short the accounts both here and at Philadelphia have been interrupted, confused and uncertain. I dont learn that Congress ever get any regular Official Accounts. I had a Letter from Mr. Lovel of the 18th Instant, in which he gives such accounts as they had received from Transient Persons, from which compared with each other he dared only to infer that we might expect good Tidings from thence. I now hear a Vessel arrived at New London in a short passage, says the Britons had reached their Shipping and Embarked. I dont understand how it is that these fellows can prowl about a Country for six months, with an Army of Continentals and Militia all round them, and then get off without much loss.

Gen'l Sullivan is gone into the Woods with about 5000 Men. (an Expedition I have no great Opinion of) while the Enemy have been ravaging the Coasts of Connecticut and burning their Towns, etc., etc., according to the true Spirit of Magnanimity and Humanity of the Plan expressed by their Commissioners. if there be no Check to their proceedings, it seems to me this is their Plan of

Operation, for the present Campaigne. if it be Infamous for its Barbarism, or Contemptible for its Malicious Littleness, British Historians and Poets may reconcile it if they can to their boasted national Politeness and Magnanimity, or which is more probable deny the facts. the last we hear of them is at Rhode Island. what Town is the object of the next Expedition is uncertain. I suppose they will soon work themselves out of Stock on that side and must come round the Cape to find new objects to glut their Cruelty and revenge.

You will find by the Papers that a Detachment from Gen'l Washington's Army under Gen'l Wayne has shewn what the Spirit of Enterprize may do if exerted. we just hear that Count D'Estaing has gained a great Naval Victory in the West Indies. I wish it may prove true. if it does probably some of their Ships will be sent this way, to avoid Hurricanes, and assist us. Our Continental Ships as well as Privateers have been very successfull, many Prizes are sent in. We are now engaged in an Expedition against the Enemy, who have made a Lodgment at Penobscot. about 20 Sail of Armed Vessels of different forces sailed about 10 days ago to join 1600 Troops assembled at the Eastward. if the Enemy do not draw of their Force, or reinforce them they are stupid indeed. if they do the last, our Fleet may be in danger, and a Capital Loss may ensue. I gave you an account in my last of the deplorable State of our Currency, since which an alarm of danger from that quarter has become so general, as to form Associations of Merchants and a pretty general Convention of delegates from the several Towns at Concord. I have some Expectations from these measures, whether they sprung from Fear, or a resolute Fortitude, from self Interest, or genuine Patriotism. you will see their several proceedings in the Papers.

In September we are to have a Convention at Cambridge to form a Constitution of Government. this is to go by the *Mercury* Packet Capt. Samson, who carries dispatches of Congress. what they contain I dont know, I hope some honourable appointment for you. I have felt some resentment lately for your detention in Europe without being in a public active Character and Station. I am however assured by Mr. Adams that a great Majority of

Congress have very favourable Sentiments and designs with regard to you.

There goes Passenger in this Packet Mr. Elkanah Watson,[1] a young Gentleman I am told of very good Character. he is Son of Capt. Watson of this Town, and a remote relation of mine. he has lived and served his Time with John Browne of Providence, and I suppose is now in pursuit of Commercial plans. he intends to go to Paris, and seems to be possessed of a Laudable Ambition to be taken Notice of by Gentlemen of distinction. you will therefore by some Attention to him cherish a good Principle in the Mind of a youth and oblige Your Friend and Humble Servant,

J. Warren

Mercy Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Sir, — This Morning your Vigalent and invariable Friend wrote you a Long Letter which makes it unnecessary for me to take up my pen, nor should I have done it by this opportunity, but in Compliance with the Wishes of Him who is so partial as to think it in my power to Contribute to the Entertainment of a Gentleman who (from Interest, from Vanity, and from more Noble principles) has such a Multitude of Correspondents. There is such Variety of Genius occasionally exerted in this way that were it not for the adverse Circumstances which prevents a safe passage you would have Little Cause to Complain that you was Forgotten on this side the Atlantic. Your Iliad would be Replete with Inteligence and your Cabinet Crouded with Epistolary Lumber, among which if you had Leasure to Retrospect you would find several unanswered from a Lady who makes no Claim to a Reply but from your politeness and Friendship. Neither of which will I suspect or Censure till assured in some Future paragraph that you have not time to answer Letters but when the Interest of the public or the Indispensable Duties of private Life Require it.

Certain I am, did all the political, Military, and Gubenatorial

1 (1758–1842), author of *Men and Times of the Revolution.*

Observations which are Designed for your perusal Reach the Gardens of Passy, you would be willing to unbend a Little, by indulging to the familiar style of Female Composition. But as most of them have been Lost through fear, Misfortune, accident or Treachery, I imagine the Avidity is still kept up, and that you open Every paquet with Expectation and desire to Investigate the Plans of statsmen and survey the Martial opperations of the Heros of a Country whose Honour and Happiness you have so much at Heart.

And though no one is better qualified to penetrate the Arcana of American politics than yourself, yet I think you must be surprised at the inconsistency of Character which appears in some and at a Loss, if not for the stimulus that provoked, yet for the Influence which carried into Execution certain Resolves which have been painful to the best, and a Rich Repast to the Worst Men that Disgrace your Native Land.

How much longer shall we be Embarassed and Distressed by the selfish insiduous arts of Gamblers, Courtiers, and Stock Jobbers among ourselves, while a Mercyless Foe is laying waste our Borders, Burning our Defenceless Cities, and Murdering the Innocent of all ages and Ranks.

The spirit of party has entered into all our Departments, the Deanites, that is to say the Votaries of pleasure or the Men of *Taste* and *Refinement*, make no inconsiderable Figure. Some Deify the phantom Fashion, whether she appears in a French, a British, or American Dress: while others Worship only at the shrine of plutus. yet the old Republicans, (a solitary few) with decent solemnity and confidence still persevere, their Hands unstained by Bribes, though poverty stares them in the face, their hearts unshaken by the Levity, the Luxury, the Caprice or Whim, the Folly or ingratitude of the times. when we survey the picture we cannot but sigh with a late celebrated writer, "Alas for poor Human Nature."

On my way from Boston I lodged a week since at the foot of Pens Hill. the Family there are well, and as happy as possible in the absence of a Tender Husband, and a Fond Father. More perticuler accounts you will doubtless have by this conveyance

from the Mistress of the Mansion. There I had the pleasure of seeing your signature to several short Letters which lead us to hope our Calamities will be shortened, or Rather not increased.

As from a long Friendship with him, and a perticular Intimacy with his Lady, I feel myself sensibly touched by the Death of Dr. Winthrop, I cannot but mingle a simpathetic tear on this occasion with you, and his philosophic Friend at Passy. Both of whom so highly esteemed, and were so intimately acquainted with his Virtues, in his literary, patriotic, and Christian Character. I fear it will be long before Harvard sees a successor that will fill the Chair of the professor with Equal Honour and Ability.[1]

Let me assure you sir, when I begun this I designed but one page but you are so well acquainted with the Loquacity of the sex that you will easily believe I check my own inclinations when at the Bottom of the Third I subscribe the Name of your sincere Friend and Humble Servant

MARCIA WARREN

PLIMOUTH, *July* 29, 1779.

MERCY WARREN TO ABIGAIL ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

ELERIVER, *August* 6, 1779

MY DEAR FRIEND, —

> And are you sure the News is true,
> And are you sure He's come.

Beneath the shady Forrest of Ele River, while my Best Friend has walked towards the fertile plain, to survey the Reapers, or perhaps ascends the Rugged Hills to view the sportive Flocks, I take up my pen to congratulate you, most sincerely to congratulate you on the safe Return of yours, from the busy and wearisome scenes of politics, pleasure, and politeness, to the still Delights of Domestic Felicity, where the Gladned Mother can scarcely suppress the tear of Rapture, to listen and smile alternately at the Narrations of her young traveler, and the simple tale, with which

1 Prof. John Winthrop died May 3, 1779. Mrs. Warren composed some verses addressed to the widow which are printed in her *Poems*, 235.

the two younger Masters (emulous for papahs Attention) strive to entertain him, while the observing Daughter silently watches every accent, and treasures up every article of Inteligence for her future improvement. the Father thanks his Negligent Countrymen for suffering him so soon to Indulge in the Highest Joys of Life. But the Patriot must secretly chide the want of Decission, that Inattention to the Interests of the States, that has permited him thus early to leave Europe, when by a longer stay he might have rendered them such essential service.[1]

When I participate the Family Happiness, and take a part in the Felicity of my Friend, I flatter myself it is an Emenation of Benevolence.

But there is not a spark of patriotism in the Cordial Gratulation in the larger scale which is the Measure of patriotic Merit, what are the little streams of social affection, the Heart felt pleasure of the Wife, the parent and the Friend, who would not sacrifice without a sigh these smaller Considerations when *pro bono publico* requires, always assured of the Gratitude and applause of the *unchanging* Multitude.

But to be serious both you and I wish well to our Country, and will hope that some Good may result even from the Mistakes of her Rulers.

It is strongly impressed on my mind that the Return of a Gentleman rather unexpectedly to his American Friends, may give a New turn to the state of parties, and eventually be productive of Happy Consequences. But my design is to say little of public affairs. The full Heart enwrapt (after the Anxieties and impatience of a long absence) in the tender scenes of Mutual affection has no Room at pres[ent for] Foreign Cares, yet hope your own Happiness will not prevent the Recollection, nor his Avocations the Completion of a promise you made when we parted to come to Plimouth soon after Mr. Adams came home. you little thought then I should have a Demand upon you so soon. However I shall not relinquish it. I will not admit even the Indolence of Felicity as an Excuse. And though it has been observed by some that Indolence is characteristic of Genius, I think Generosity

1 John Adams returned from France August 2, 1779.

indicates a Greatness of soul that will supply the Defects of Genius, but when we seen them united in their Exertions to Bestow Happiness, we then see the perfection of Human Nature. And with my Friendly and Respectful Compliments to Mr. Adams you will tell him this Visit shall be placed on the List of *Charities*. But if he is a Believer in the Doctrine of *supererogation*, he will have more to do, for more will certainly be required. Mean time I shall hear from you both if you wish to Gratify your assured and affectionate Friend

MARCIA WARREN

My Regards to Monsieur Francy[?], and to the sister of the young Frenchman.

JAMES LOVELL TO JAMES WARREN

Aug. 13th, 1779

DEAR SIR,— Tho', on the one hand, I may be perfectly right in supposing that it is almost immaterial to which individual, of a select number of Patriots in Boston who honor me with their Correspondence, I, from time to time, make direct confidential Communications, immaterial I mean so far as relates to the meer matter of Information, yet, surely it must appear odd, at least, if not ungrateful, that I should send Scrawl after Scrawl to one who replys in the Ratio of two to seven while I suffer a long very entertaining Letter, from another, of July 19th to lay by me unacknowledged ten days.

Apprized as you must have been by Mr. S. A[dams] of the Principles, Views and Conduct of most political Men here, you may notwithstanding have been unacquainted even till now with the exact Contents of a Paper which is handed about in a particular Circle in your Neighbourhood so as to influence the minds of some good men as well as to strengthen the Plots of some bad ones. I wish you to see it. Mr. Ellis Gray a worthy Man,[1] will

1 He had been chairman of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety in 1776.

put you in the Train of having it, I doubt not: it is too much for me to copy at this Time, and perhaps needless. For if Mr. Gray cannot furnish you with it Mr. Thos. Cushing can. The latter also can, if he will, tell by whose extraordinary Care it was sent to Boston. I own I have much Curiosity to know.

Sir, you may see the low arts that have been used to prejudice the Minds of Congress so far as to make them destroy the good Man's prospect of the best Reward in Republics — the approbation of the People. You may see it by the Use that has been made of the following Scrap laid on the Table by Mr. G. Morris May 3d, 1779. Tis the Extract of a Letter from Paris dated the 7th of Decr., 1778, and said to be written by a confidential Friend *of* the Minister of the Marine. Mr. Holker furnished it, so that it was probably *to* him.

"Mr. J Adams, le Deputé ne réussit pas ici que de Raison: il paraît etre entièrement livré au Sr. Lee, lequel comme vous le scavez est une espèce de fol."

Mr. J. Adams the Deputy does not succeed here further than is reasonable: He appears to be intirely devoted to Mr. Lee, who, as you know, is a sort of mad-man.

The rest of the paper relates to an appointment of a Monsr. D'Obré [1] who is Son in Law of Mr. Schweighauser at Nantes, insinuating that he betrays our Vessels to the People of Jersey because he is Son of the Mair of that Place. The Maliciousness of which I have many Vouchers by me that prove. The Paper concludes with an assertion that if Doctr. Franklin is not sole Deputy in France Things will go on but lamely or in his own Phrase with "but one wing."

I hope Mr. Adams will in a few days be with you: he was left off the western Isles on the 29th of June by a Vessel which arrived at Virginia Aug. 1st. I hope he will come soon on to Congress. And, as C[u]sh[in]g says, "People here" are of opinion that he ought not to come as a Delegate, but in his present Character, and with a proper Dignity, as if he was fit to deal with a *gallant* Nation. "People here," are my Circle. If Mr. A[dams] is resolutely determined not to negotiate a Peace for us upon being

1 Dobrée.

unanimously chosen for such a Work, *then* I would wish him to have an Election as Delegate if he only tarries a Month upon it; the Election to be made after he is *here*.

As to Peace, I am persuaded the eastern Delegates have always been justly dubious of the reality of any honest Intentions in Britain, tho' we were sure France and Spain were willing to know our Sentiments about Newfoundland and the Floridas. I am pretty sure that what the Gazettes say of the Mediation of Spain being rejected is true. Mr. Adams has sent Word that he is coming with good News, and I am told that a Vessel is now in this River after a short Passage from Nantes. I will go to Congress and will not seal till I know whether I can tell you any Thing more explicitly.

I find no Letters or Intelligence. But shall probably give you a Confirmation by next post of what we are told authentically from Martinique. With much Esteem I am, Sir, Your humble Servant,

James Lovell

[Endorsed:] I broke the Seal to tell that on the 28th of July at 15 Leagues from Boston in Latt 42 Mr. Adams was left in the *Sensible* 36 Guns with a Vessel of 24 and several of 14 and 16.

John Adams to Mercy Warren

[*September*, 1779?]

Madam, — A few days ago, I was favoured with your obliging Letter of 29 July, and am much obliged to the Gentleman who perswaded you to write, as well as to you, for complying with his Desire.

I shall never have so many Correspondents as to make me neglect the Letters of a Lady, whose Character I revere so much and whose Correspondence I prize so highly. I have had the Pleasure of two Letters, at Passy, both of which I very punctually answered, and should have answered all if they had been one hundred.

In Truth, Madam, I had very little Intelligence from America

during my Absence. Your Friend, was as usual my best Correspondent, among the Gent. From Congress I could obtain no Intelligence at all.

If I comprehend the Resolves you mention, I am not at a Loss for the Influence, that obtained them. A factious Demagogue, disappointed in his Views of Ambition and Avarice, assisted by, a numerous Band of mercantile Speculators in Contract with him, on both side[s] the Water, with a factious, foreign Minister, Consel, and Vice Consull, have forced up into Vegetation these Hotbed Plants, by the best opinion I can form.

I fear, Madam, we shall be much longer, distressed by Gamblers and Stockjobbers. I can see no End to it. Yet sometimes Things are ordered better than we can foresee.

The Follies and Frivolities of our Countrymen, are too Serious to be ridiculous. Time however, and the Perseverance of the few who now, disapprove them, may produce a Cure. We shall find, by and by, that those who corrupt our Symplicity, will be restrained. The Government, influenced chiefly by the Yeomanry will, after a little while, take Care of the Coxcombs and Coquettes.

Our Calamities, I think, will not be greatly increased, altho they may be prolonged.

I join with you, most sincerely, Madam, in deploring the Loss of our great and excellent Friend Dr. Winthrop, for whose Name and Character I shall ever entertain the highest Veneration. The University, the State and the Republick of Letters, have all Cause to lament the Death of this able and amiable Man. I am with great Respect, and Esteem,

JOHN ADAMS

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

BRAINTREE, *Sept.* 11, 1779

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I was told in Boston that Mr. Avery[1] and Mr. Wendell[2] had been proposed for Judges of the Inf[erio]r C[our]t for the County of Suffolk, in the Room of my Friend Pemberton.[3]

1 John Avery, died 1796. 2 Oliver Wendell (1733–1818).
3 Samuel Pemberton had died August 21, 1779.

I said not a Word, but since I have been at home, I have reflected upon this and altho these Gentlemen have amiable Characters I cannot think them so well qualified for this Place as Mr. Cranch,[1] whose great Natural Abilities, and whose late Application to the Study of the Law and to public affairs, made him occur to my Mind. It is the first Time of my whole Life, that I recollect that I ever proposed a Relation of mine, for a Place, and I certainly should not have done it in this Case, if he had not, entirely without my knowledge untill my arrival, been brought into public View. If you think as I do, that the public will be as faithfully and ably served by such an Appointment, as by any other, and will mention it to Mr. Sever,[2] who is acquainted with him, perhaps it may be proposed in Council. There is but one objection that I know of, and that is, he is my Brother. This may be enough.[3] in haste yours,

JOHN ADAMS

JAMES WARREN TO JAMES LOVELL

BOSTON, [*December*, 1779]

MY DEAR SIR, — Two Days ago recieved your kind favour of the 29th Novr. I am much obliged to you for your attention to my Reputation. I am not at all surpriz'd at the Arts of base men. I have seen so many of them during the Course of my Pilgrimage that they are become familiar, but in no way can they attack me with so little effect as by Imputations or Suggestions of Fraud or Negligence in my public Conduct. I entred into the Service of the Public from the purest Principles. I have serv'd them a great while; I have spent in that way the best Part of my Life, and sacrific'd my Interest. and now my Conscience bids me brave every attack upon my Integrity and assiduity, were my abilities equal to either, I would extend the Challenge. No Instance perhaps was ever mark'd with more malevolence, than that you have

1 Richard Cranch (1726–1811), who had married a daughter of Rev. William Smith.
2 William Sever (1729–1809).
3 A letter from James Warren to Arthur Lee, September 17, 1779, is printed in Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II. 271.

given me a Copy of, and the Falsehood and Misrepresentation are equal to the malice. all these are so gross and the Improbability so glaring, that nothing but the manner of conveying the Information can entitle it to the attention of the marine Comtee or induce them to lay it before Congress on that Subject I need make no observations. I shall only say to you that whatever Notice is taken of it, the N[avy] B[oard] are ready for the severest Scrutiny. the N. B. have great merit, they have done nearly all the Business of your Navy, which is a full Evidence of their Diligence. their Integrity will appear on examination, and if I mistake not will shine in Proportion to the Strictness of the Scrutiny. We have done Business enough to earn a fortune and are now so far from making one that all the emoluments we have ever deriv'd from this Office have not paid our simple board, at the most moderate rate, without a Glass of Wine for ourselves or any Indulgence whatever. The Commissions mention'd in the anonymous Letter are groundless and ridiculous, and so indeed is the whole, unless what relates to Mr. Deshon's agency for the french at N. London which may be true or false, I know nothing about it. with Regard to the authors I have no difficulty about them, or the motives to this Business, the authors are, I think, displac'd officers and their Connections, and their motives are resentment and Revenge and the whole Process is in Character. but I forbear to take up your time or give you further Trouble on this Subject and only say, that if Congress at any time choose to appoint a better man in my room, I shall be glad to resign. I should have done it before for other reasons, if I had not attended to the requests of my Friends, for I really cannot afford to stay here unless Congress have increased our Salarys.

A great Dearth of foreign News has prevail'd here for a long time and our Impatience is severely tried on this Occasion, much was expected from the great military and naval operations in Europe, and we get nothing certain about them, a rumor prevails this morning that a vessel at Cape Ann from Martinico brings advice that the English and combin'd Fleets in Europe are call'd in, and that a treaty of Peace under the mediation of Russia was on foot. this is far from being certain, if it proves true it will have

a sudden and curious operation upon our Currency and commercial matters. our internal matters remain pretty much in their usual Situation. I suppose you are before now informed of the Election of all the members of Congress for this State, and of Genl. Ward in the room of Mr. Dana. I hear Genl. Hancock intends soon to set out for Congress that he may be able to return home early in the Spring.

The French Frigate that carried Mr. Adams has been spoke with seven Days after sailing, 200 Leagues to the Eastward, all well I hope she is now in France.

I beg my Compliments may be made to your Brethren, and particularly to my good Friend Mr. Gerry. I am your Friend and humble Servt.

Elbridge Gerry to James Warren

Philadelphia, *Jany.* 25, 1780

My dear Sir, — It is a long Time since We have heard from our Friends eastward, and We impute it to the Severity of the Winter, but yesterday I received by the Post your agreable Favour of the 27th Decr., the Desire of which was increased by the Detention.

I should have been glad to have seen your Remarks on the anonymous Letter, but Mr Lovell informs me, he has not yet received them.

The Policy of America will succeed or fail in my Opinion, in proportion to her Exertions for establishing a Navy. I well remember that You was the first to promote it, and altho it was disapproved by some in Point of Time, the Benefit derived from the Measure has clearly manifested the Wisdom of it. the State of our Finances will check it's present Growth, but I doubt not that it will soon flourish, and that Time will suggest Improvements in the Arrangements and Regulations of the Boards that are appointed to cherish and conduct it. I am very sensible that the officers of these Departments have been poorly rewarded, and was lately of a Committee who reported that their present Salaries should have a Retrospect to Novr. 1778, but the Subject is not yet

considerd by Congress: I think however that You have their fullest Confidence.

Congress have not yet determined whether to remove eastward or southward; both are talked of, but your Remarks respecting the Navy, are conclusive in my Mind, in Favour of the former.

The great objects of Attention in Congress are Oeconomy and Resources. Necessity dictates their Measures, and I hope will produce salutary Effects. the Departments of the Muster and Barrack Masters are abolished and the Business of the former annexed to the office of Inspector. Generals Schuyler and Mifflin and Colo Pickering are appointed a Committee,[1] with full Powers to inform themselves by Inspection or otherwise of the State of the Staff Departments, to call on any of the officers thereof for Information, to discharge all persons therein that are supernumerary or delinquent, to break up unnecessary issuing Posts and establish others where requisite, to stop all Issues of Rations not indispensibly necessary for the Service, and in Conjuncture with General Washington to reduce the Number of Horses and Waggons in the Service and Expence of Transportation, and to adopt a general Reformation of the Departments. the States are to be also called on for their respective quotas of Supplies and authorized to stop all purchases by continental officers, when Measures are adopted for complying with the Requisitions of Congress; and to induce the States to purchase cheap, they are to be credited equal prices for Articles of the same Kind and quality, and in proportion for other Articles.

I inclose You the News papers containing three sensible Letters by a Gentleman in Maryland on "Appreciation," and can give You nothing new, excepting certain Information from the Court of France that by their Interposition the british Court have failed in their Applications for Recruits to the several Powers of Germany.

The Massachusetts Delegates are sitting in Congress by Vertue only of a Certificate of their Appointment from the Deputy Secretary. They have never aspired to be *commissioned*, but wish not to loose their Rank as warrant officers.

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVI. 77, 79.

I observe your Apprehensions relative to a new Q[uarter] M[aster] G[eneral], but have no Reason to suppose them well grounded, altho the Matter has been suggested in Congress. I remain Sir with every Sentiment of respect your Friend and hum Ser.

E. Gerry

John Adams to James Warren

Paris, *Feby.* 23d, 1780

Dear Sir, — The French Court seem to be now every day more and more convinced of the good Policy, and indeed the Necessity of prosecuting the War with Vigour in the American Seas. They have been and are making great Preparations accordingly, and are determined to maintain a clear Superiority.

M. de la Motte Piquet has with him, the *Hannibal*, the *Magnifique*, the *Diadem*, the *Dauphin Royal*, the *Artesien*, the *Reflectir*, and the *Vengeur*, and if M. de Grace has joined him from Chesapeak Bay, the *Robuste*, the *Fendant* and the *Sphinx*, in all ten Ships of the Line.

M. de Guichen is gone to join him, with the *Couronne*, eighty Guns, the *Triomphant*, eighty, the *Palmier*, seventy-four, the *Victoire*, the *Destin*, the *Conquerant*: the *Citoyen*, the *Intrepide*, the *Hercule*, the *Souverain*, all of seventy-four; the *Jason*, the *Actionaire*, the *Caton*, the *Julien*, the *Solitaire*, the *St. Michel*, the *Triton*, all of sixty-four. The Frigates the *Medée*, *Courageuse*, *Gentille* and the *Charmante*, all of thirty-two. He had above an hundred Sail of Vessels under his Convoy, and the Regiments of Touraine and Enghien, of more than thirteen hundred Men each, and the second Battalion of Royal Comtois and of Walsh of seven hundred Men each — making in the whole more than four thousand Troops. Besides these, there are seven more preparing at Brest to sail.

Messs. Gerard, Jay and Charmichael are arrived at Cadiz in a French Frigate, the *Confederacy* having been dismasted and driven to Martinique. The *Alliance* carries this with Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard, who will no doubt be treated with all Respect at Boston.

Notwithstanding the Commotions in England and Ireland, the Success of Prevost at Savannah, and of Rodney off Gibraltar, and even the silly Story of Omoa in South America,[1] is enough to embolden the Ministry to go on with a Debt of two hundred Millions already contracted, to borrow twelve or fourteen Millions a Year in the Beginning of a War with France and Spain, each having a greater Navy than they ever had, each discovering a greater fighting Spirit than they ever did before, and obliging the English to purchase every Advantage at a dear Rate.

The Premiums and Bounties that they are obliged to give to raise Men, both for the Service by Sea and Land, and the Interest of Money they borrow, are greater than were ever given in any former Wars, even in the last Year of the last War. This cannot always last, nor indeed long. Yet I dont expect to see Peace very soon.

I have sent a Trunk to the Care of the Navy Board, for my dear Mrs. A[dams], in which is something for Mrs. W[arren]. Pray write me as often as possible, and send the News papers to me. Your Friend and Servant,

John Adams

John Adams to James Warren Adams mss.

Paris, Hotel de Valois,
Rue Richelieu, *Feby.* 28, 1780

Dear Sir, — I have written so fully to Congress and to particular Friends before, and have so little time now, that I have little more to do than make up a Letter for the Bearer to deliver you.

The Marquis de la Fayette is going to Boston in a Frigate and surely he wants no Recommendation of mine; his own Merit and his Fame are enough. He has been the same Friend to us here that he was in America. He has been very assiduous to procure Cloaths and Arms for our Army and to promote our Interest in every other way within his Circle. I can tell you nothing from

1 In Honduras, Central America.

Madrid as yet. But I do hope Mr. Jay will succeed. England may possibly try to get Russia and Denmark to negotiate for Peace, but she will not sue merely because she will not consent to such Terms as every American holds indispensable. Holland is very angry, but does not resent. She has been very ill treated, but cannot avenge herself. I beg that every Word I say to you about Peace may be kept secret, because I shall write to Congress upon that subject all that is proper for me to say to any Body in America.

I have written you by the *Alliance*, which will sail soon. Landais is at Paris. Jones goes in the *Alliance*. Your son is on board, by this time inured to the [*indecipherable*] to War. We have not yet learned who are our delegates this year, nor how the Constitution goes on.

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

Febry. 28, 1780

. . . . . .

By Capt. Sampson there came two Letters, one from Mr. Lee, one from a Mr. Gellée,[1] to Mr Adams; by Mr. Lee's I find that affairs go on in the old course at Passy, the Counsel there is composed of the same Honorable Members, says Mr. Lee, as when you left it, "with the reinforcement of Samll. Wharton,[2] Samll. Petrie and the Alexanders,[3] a match is concludd between one of the daughters [4] and Jonathan Williams; this *August* and natural family compact will I hope promote the publick as well as private Interests."

There is a party in France of worthless ambitious intrigueing Americans, who are disposed to ruin the reputation of every Man whose views do not coinside with their selfish schemes. of this you will be satisfied when I tell you that mr. Gellée writes thus,

1 N. M. Gellée, secretary to Dr. Franklin.
2 Member of the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan.
3 Robert, William and Alexander John Alexander, sons of William Alexander, Lord Provost of Edinburgh.
4 Mariamne Alexander.

After your departure reports were circulated here that you were gone to England and that during your Station here, you had entertaind an Illicit correspondence with the British Ministry. it was even published here that mr Samll. Adams had headed a conspiration and contrived to surrender Boston to the English. In vain did I endeavour to shew them the absurdity of the former opinion, by your embarking in the same ship with the Chevalier, but you know the people in this country are in general very Ignorant of American affairs which give designing Men an opportunity to shew their Malignity.

How happy, my dear Madam, would America have been, had it been her Lot, to have contended only with foreign Enemies, but the rancour of her internal foes have rendred the task of the patriot peculiarly difficult and Dangerous.

I some times contemplate the Situation of my absent Friend, honourd as he is at present with the confidence of his Country, as the most critical and hazardous Embassy to his reputation his honour, and I know not but I may add life, that could possibly have been entrusted to him. I view him beset with the machinations of envy, the snares of treachery, the malice of dissimulation and the clandestine stabs of calumny.

can the Innocence of the dove or the wisdom of a more subtle animal screne him from all these foes? can the strictest integrity and the most unwearied exertions for the benifit and happiness of Mankind secure to him more, than the approbation of his own Heart,

all other applause without that would be of small estimation, yet one would wish not to be considerd as a selfish designing Banefull foe, when they have worn out their lives in the Service of their country.

Those who envy him, his situation see not with my Eyes, nor feel with my Heart, perhaps I feel and fear too much.

I have heard this winter of a Letter from a Lady [1] to her son containing strictures upon Lord Chesterfields Letters. I have not been favourd with a sight of it, tho I have wished for it. a collection of his Lordships Letters came into my Hands this winter which I read, and tho they contain only a part of what he has

1 Mrs. Warren.

written, I found enough to satisfy me, that his Lordship with all his elegance and graces, was a Hypocritical polished Libertine, a mere Lovelace, but with this difference, that Lovelace was the most generous Man of the two, since he had justice sufficient to acknowledge the merrit he was destroying, and died penitently warning others, whilst his Lordship not content, himself with practiseing; but is in an advanced age, inculcateing the most immoral pernicious and Libertine principals into the mind of a youth whose natural Guardian he was, and at the same time calling upon him to wear the outward garb of virtue knowing that if that was cast aside, he would not be so well able to succeed in his persuits.

I could prove to his Lordship were he living that there was one woman in the world who could act consequentially more than 24 hours, since I shall dispise to the end of my days that part of his character, yet I am not so blinded by his abuse upon our sex, as not to allow his Lordship the merrit of an elegant pen, a knowledge of *Mankind* and a compiler of many excellent maxims and rules for the conduct of youth, but they are so poisoned with a mixture of Libertinism that I believe they will do much more injury than benifit to Mankind. I wish, my dear Madam, you would favour me with a coppy of the Letter said to be in your power. . . .

PORTIA

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

PARIS, HOTEL DE VALOIS,
RUE DE RICHELIEU, *March* 16th, 1780

DEAR SIR, — Your Letter of the 13th of June last, is not answered, not received 'till my Arrival here. You will be so overloaded with News about the Time this will reach You, that I will not add to the Heap. We have none from America a long Time — none since Christmas. You say I was envied — perhaps so: but they would not have envied me in the Gulph Stream, nor when chased forty eight Hours by three British Frigates, nor when sailing in a Ship, leaking seven Feet of Water in an Hour, in a

Gale of Wind that blowed the poor *Courier de L'Europe*, our fellow Voyager, to the Bottom with all her People, nor when devoured by Vermin in Company with Mules, Hogs, and Poultry, on the Mountains of Gallicia. They would not envy Mr. Jay in the dismasted *Confederacy*, etc. They would not envy Us here, at least they ought not, for it is not an enviable Situation: to see things go wrong for want of adopting the simplest and most obvious plans in the World. However, I have seen enough of Envy to know, that it will have its perfect Work. Let it. It is a Distemper, that I hope will never seize me. I had rather of the two have another, which is sometimes they say contracted here by an Acquaintance with the elegant Nymphs of the Boulevards. But enough of this.

The People of England have done me the Honor to talk lately a great deal about me. They have pleased themselves with the Tales that the Ministry propagated, that I was coming to London. Lord North said he wished I had come in the Cartel Ship. I believe him. But they have no Thoughts of Peace upon my Terms, i.e. upon American Terms. Ireland however will make herself independent before ours will be acknowledged: and England will have a Congress very soon. Ireland and England have learned our Policy, and are treading in our Steps. Holland is very angry, and will not always bear. Yet England cannot learn Wisdom. She will fall like the strong Man. I should be very glad She would come to her Reason: but she will not a long Time. Your's

JOHN ADAMS

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN ADAMS MSS.

PARIS, *March* 18th, 1780

MY DEAR SIR, — Monsieur Jean Baptiste Petry, Secretary to the Comte de Chatelet, a Marshal of the Camps and Armies of the King of France, is, as he says, going to America, and as he is connected with some Gentlemen to whom I am much obliged, I cannot but comply with his Desire and give him a few Letters of Introduction. He is represented to be a worthy, sensible and agreeable Man.

The Marquis de la Fayette sailed about 10th March from Rochelle and will be in Boston, as we hope, by the 10th of April. He will explain to Congress and to General Washington what I cannot explain to you. The Bearer will give you further Commentaries. This Court will by little and little be convinced of the true System, after which I hope they will be less unfortunate; in all human Probability they must be, if they do not neglect it too long.

Rodney's Fleet seems to have been the favorite of Fortune, but you know she is a great changeling, and frowns upon one, sometimes in half an hour after having lavished upon him her Smiles and Favors. We are anxious to know the fate of Charlestown, which we hope was saved by a Storm.

Faucitte [1] vapours in a Leiden Gazette that he has obtained 40,000 of the Langrave of Hesse. This Soul selling Langrave, as they call him in Germany, has hardly 40,000 Men in his Dominions. This is the Fruit of the Cracovie. Now I must write more or you wont understand me. Craquer signifies, in a kind of familiar banting stile, to lie, and Craqueur is a Lyar. There is a Tree in the grand Alley of the Palais Royal at Paris which they call the Tree of Cracovie, from the name of a City in Poland and its similitude to the Word Craque, l'Arbre de Cracovie. The News Mongers of Paris assemble commonly under this Tree, so that it is become proverbial to call false News Les Nouvelles de l'arbre de Cracovie — News from the Tree of Cracovie.[2] I have spent a Multitude of Words in Explanation of this Trifle, which does not deserve them.

Pray introduce Mr. Petry to Madam Warren, the most accomplished Lady in America, next to one whom I will not mention, but whose Prerogative of being the first I can never give up. Affectionately yours.

1 Sir William Fawcett — Faucitt in the *Army Lists* from 1756–1785 — (1728–1804).
2 Littré, *Dictionnaire*, 1. 879, *sub verbo* Cracovie.

MERCY WARREN TO JAMES WARREN

SUNDAY, *Apr.* 2, 1780

. . . . . .

It appears to me there are very Extraordinary doings among some of the servants of the public. I have Long been apprehensive that the Character of a Venerable old Man was in Danger of being tarnished both from his Connexions and his own aviritious spirit. I think I told you on the appearance of Dean's address that I trembled for Dr F[rankli]n, as I wished a Man of his abilities might Descend to the Grave unimpeached by an indulgence of the Various passions that must mark Every Name with Infamy. Poor Capt Landais. I pity him yet hope his Character and Rank may be Retrieved as at present I believe him Greatly injured; but whether Guilty or Innocent whether sacrificed or acquited I apprehend this affair in all its Circumstances — when a Thorough investigation is made will open a Curious system of Villany. But you know my opinion where there is no Religious Principle there is no Check and the political and Moral Conduct is adapted as far as Circumstances will admit to the Narrow Interests of the individual. The philosopher is the Creature of Caprice and the Cool Reasoner the sport of passion. True this is Consistent Enough when there are no Views of a higher Existence and no Wishes but what are Circumscribed within the Limits of a Golden Hemisphere. But how amazingly different will be Their Ideas when the Grand Electric spark shall Wrap Creation in Flames and the Convulsion awake from their Earthey Lodgments the sceptical tribes of Every Denomination.

I have been Expecting Mr Lee's pamphlet [1] by Every opportunity. Did you forget it or is it in better hands? perhaps Winslow May bring it, who I Expect tomorrow as he assures me he shall then be at Plimouth with Mr Tillotson and Lady and others.

I hope they will keep the appointment as you know the Difficultyes of being prepared at all times to Entertain strangers in

1 *Extracts from a Letter written to the President of Congress*, first printed at Williamsburg in 1779, and reprinted at Philadelphia, 1780.

such a Barren place. I have not been out this afternoon as am a Little unwell. It has been very Cold and for your sake I choose to take Good Care of your affectionate Wife

M. Warren

John Adams to Mercy Warren

June 23, 1780

My dear Portia, — We are very much affected with the Loss of Charlestown it seems the most disagreable affair, We have ever met with. I dont know that the Consequences, will be bad, but the Loss of so many Men Ships, and Artillery and Stores is heavy besides the Town. To maintain it, they must weaken themselves at N. York and elsewhere. We hope to hear of something to ballance it.

I inclose a Paper, giving an Account of the Troubles in London.[1] What they will come to, in the End, I dont know, it seems hitherto a fanatical Business. Their civil Liberties, and most essential Interests are forgotten, while they are running mad for their own contracted notions. it is said, that the Catholic Bill will be repealed. the true motive for making that Law, with the Ministry and King was, to engage the Irish Catholicks, on their Side, and get them to inlist into the American Service.

In the midst of the dismay of these Mobs comes the News from Charlestown.

The Ways of Heaven are dark and intricate. it seems as if they were to be permitted to have success enough, to lead them on, untill they become the most striking Spectacle of Horror that ever was seen.

These Riots discover Symptoms of deep distress and misery, among the lower Classes of People. the particular Spight against the Prisons is one mark of it. The decided part they took against the Ministry, shews upon what Ground they stand. it is however a shocking Scene. the King, seems in a fair Way to the Summit of all his wishes, absolute Power. Martial Law is very agreable to

1 The Gordon riots, June 6–8.

him. G[overnor] Hutchinson died in the Beginning of the Affray.[1] Lord Mansfield's House underwent a worse Fate, than his.

I suppose that it will cost two millions Sterling, to indemnify the Sufferers. this must be added to all the other Expences of the War. They forget the State of Ireland, France Spain, West Indies, N. America, the armed Neutrality of the maritime Powers, and their own distracted State, in their Joy for the News of Charlestown, which in reality however unpleasant to Us ought to be more dreadful to them, because it will be a Grave to their Army and a drain to their Purses without any considerable Advantage.

They however think not of Peace. We are all well.

[*No signature.*]

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

BOSTON, *July* 11th, 1780

MY DEAR SIR, — My last Letters went by my Son Winslow who left this place about three weeks ago, for Amsterdam, and I hope will soon be able to deliver them to you at Paris.

At that time I flattered myself that we should be able to hold Charlestown, but you will find before this reaches you that the Enemy have got it, with the four Continental Ships that were ordered there last November. this is a great reduction of our Navy, and seems to be occasioned more by ill policy, than the fortune of War. it was certainly a very odd measure to shut up those Ships in a place where they could not possibly do any service, and where probably they would be lost. the Loss of Charlestown at first seemed to have disagreeable Effects. it produced some degree of dejection, but those Effects were soon changed for more agreeable ones. it has done more good than hurt. it has waked us from a profound Sleep, and roused every Man to Action. we shall now have a fine Army, and they will be supplied and when our Allies arrive, (who by the way we yet hear Nothing more of than that they sailed the 2d May) I dare say we shall Beat the Britons, though flushed with Victory over the Capital of a Country, which

1 June 3, at Brompton, near London.

had not public Spirit enough in the midst of plenty to supply provisions for those that would fight or Courage to fight themselves. the Spirit of '75 seems to be revived. our Papers which will be sent you will give an Account of a Brilliant Action on our side, in which a few Continental Troops and a few of the brave Jersey Militia beat back, and drove out of that Country an Army of British Savages with a loss of 7 or 800 killed and wounded. we have no other News. As to our Navy the *Confederacy* is at Philadelphia, the *Deane* and *Trumbull* are here, the latter repairing her Injurys suffered by a noble and well conducted Action with a Ship of superior force. The *Alliance* laying in France tho' exceedingly wanted here. our New Constitution is established, and is to operate on the last Wednesday in October. The Election of Gov'r, Lieut. Gov'r and Senate to be made on the beginning of September. Mr. B[owdoin] has again come into public Life that he may with the greater Advantage stand as a candidate, in competition with H[ancock] for the highest honor and rank in this State. who will carry the Election is very uncertain. I dont envy either of them their feelings. the Vanity of one of them will Sting like an Adder if it is disappointed, and the Advancements made by the other if they dont succeed will hurt his *Modest* pride. the upper counties will be for H., the Interest of the other will lay in the lower ones. I dont hear who is to be the Lieut. [Governor], or anything about it, only that an Interest is making for C[ushing] in this Town. if H. is Chief, why will not C. make an excellent second. The old General Court will have one short Sessions more and then Die, and give place to a new one. one of my last gave you an account of the proceedings of this State with regard to Money. Notwithstanding which it has continued to depreciate till it got to 75 and 80 for one. there is no accounting for it, or reasoning about it. it is progressive, retrograde, eccentric, regular or irregular just as the D——l will have it, and Nobody, not even Coll. Quincey can tell why. it seems just now to make a pause, and if there is any reasoning about it I think it will in the Course of a Month return to about forty. would you wish to hear anything of the Husbandry of the Country. I have already told you in a former Letter that we had a most horrible winter. the Spring and

former part of the Summer were very dry, the whole Country has suffered by droughts and some parts of it very severely. we have lately had fine rains, but they came too late for Hay, and a full Crop of English Corn. I dont remember that you ever mentioned to me your Friend the Abbé Raynal's *History of the East and West Indies*. I told you before that I was exceedingly pleased with it. I like it the better because it contains many fine reflections on Agriculture, and the dignity and advantages of it.

I shall write nothing about your good Family, as Mrs. Adams will write by this very good Oppertunity herself, and Capt. Samson [1] will take the best Care of all Letters to you. please to make my regards to Mr. Dana, and remember me to Mr. Thaxter, and your two Sons, and believe me to be with Great Sincerity Your Friend and Humble Servant,

J. Warren

Mr. Gerry has returned from Congress. Mr. Adams and Gen'l Ward are gone. Mr. Partridge is also returned.

James Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Boston, *July* 19, 1780

My Dear Sir,—Having already wrote you pretty largely by Capt. Samson, this is only to Inform you that two days ago arrived here one Mr. Mitchel [2] with a Load of English Goods from London. this seems to be a prevailing and encreasing object of Commerce one arrived in the Spring little Notice was taken of it. four more Vessels are said to be on their way here. it is certain there is one, and Mr. Duncan is in her. he and Mitchel married two Daughters of Geo. Bethune [3] I dont say any thing of their political Principles. there are no Tories or Tory Connections here, we are all Whiggs, and the Man that hid himself in the heat of the day, and has never done any thing since has as much Merit as one that has been in the front of the Battle. these Men had Address enough to procure flaggs from our Council to carry to

1 Of the *Mercury* packet. 2 Henry Mitchell.
3 George Bethune (d. 1785) married in 1754 Mary Faneuil, niece of Peter Faneuil.

England a Number of Prisoners, under the Pretence that they would carry as many more to France and come out from there with a Load of Goods. Mitchel now says they would not suffer an Exchange for the Prisoners they carried, and took their Ships from them but afterwards paid them for their Ships.

They come boldly in under the Protection of Permits from Doct'r Franklin. I thought you should be acquainted with these Circumstances: you are best able to judge if it be good Policy for us, and consistent with our Connections with France, to carry on such a Trade. if it be I think it should be publicly avowed, if not it should be publickly discountenanced. my own Judgment is we can do very well without it, and that all Intercourse with that accursed and barbarous Nation should be intirely broke of, and that we should use ourselves to the Manufactures and Merchandize of other Nations, to prevent as much as possible the hankering after those of Britain, the Leeks and onions of Egypt, when a Peace takes place. I have had but one Letter from you since you left us and that a very short one. I always take pleasure in your Letters. if you can find Friends out of your own Family, more pleased with your Friendship, or more Sincere and Zealous in his or theirs, I will not complain that you do not write to me oftener. I am Yours sincerely,

J. Warren

Samuel Adams to James Warren

Philadelphia, *Augt.* 3d, 1780

My dear Sir, — I receivd your favor of the 13th of July by yesterdays Post. On my Journey I met Mr. Gerry at Hartford, where we were unexpectedly engaged in publick Business with Governor Trumbull. I utterly forgot that I had your Letter to him, but since you have empowerd me to open it, I find, it would have been of no Advantage to you to have deliverd it to him there. I waited upon the *only* Gentleman of the Committee of Commerce now in Town, who told me your Account was not settled. I urgd it, and will continue to do so as a Matter which ought not to be

delayd. When this is done, I will pursue the Step which you request.

I do not like the Situations of the two Fleets. The English appears to be the superior, and while they lie before R[hode] Island, they may serve two great Purposes, the intercepting the 2d Division from France, and the giving their Cork Fleet an Opportunity of arriving at N. York. If our Privatiers were cruising off the Hook at this Juncture it might be advantageous to them as well as to the Publick. I am sorry to find that the *Trumbull* and the *Dean* are to run a double and I think a needless Risque of Falling into the Enemies Hands; but if this be an ill judged Measure, you are not accountable for it.

The Doctor is this Moment going, which prevents my adding to this Letter. I refer you to him for Intelligence.

Adieu my dear Sir, and be assured that I am Your affectionate,

S. A——

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *Sepr.* 17th, 1780

My Dear Sir, — I very seldom hear from you. whether you are prevented from writeing by more Important concerns, or whether you have no Inclination for the Correspondence, you best can tell; but as I always incline to put Construction on my Friends Conduct, the most favourable to them and myself, I shall suppose the first and Continue writeing to you. The Elections, so far as lay with the People at large are made. a Governor is Undoubtedly chosen and the Votes of your own *beloved* Town will give you at once an Idea of the Majority in favour of Mr. Hancock, and a General one of their proceedings through the whole. Mr. Powel was their Man for Lieut. A great Majority through the State was in favour of Mr. Hancock. I believe no Choice is made of Lieut. Governor and that will be the Case in part in respect to Senators in the different Counties, and in most Instances where a Choice is made they seem Calculated for that

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

Interest and to render their Idol as Uncontroulable as possible. if I have a Seat in the House I shall use my Influence to Choose you the Secretary, but the Influence of all that dont worship devoutly may be very small and you and I may have none at all. for my own part I am Content to retire into private Life while I can lay my hand upon heart and say that I have in no Instance deviated from the Principles I professed, or those of my Constituents when they Chose me. your Virtue and Firmness have and will Continue to Expose you to persecution. the Tongue of Malice has always been Employed against you, and things, old and new, are mustered to render you Obnoxious. it is now reported that you are against filling up the Battalions for the war and are in favour of drafts of the Militia from time to time. I venture to Contradict many things and this among the rest, but there is no End to Calumny.[1]

[*No signature.*]

James Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Boston, *October* 12th, 1780

My Dear Sir, — My last two or three Letters were by Capt. Samson, who if he has not shared the ill fate of some others, must have been handed you long before this. Three Letters went by my Son. he had the Misfortune to be taken, and carried to Newfoundland, and I suppose the Letters went to the Bottom, with a great number of others. in them I endeavoured to give you as perticular an account of our affairs here, at that time as I could. I have no copies, and therefore cant recollect the contents. you must therefore be content with a short detail of matters as they now stand. The papers we shall send you by this Opportunity will give you a general state of the Conduct of Military Matters from the Loss of Charlestown to the defection and Treachery of Arnold, and the hanging of Major Andre, you will learn that the one has fled to New York, and the other been properly treated as a Spy, and that

1 A letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, October 3 [not 6], 1780, is in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, iv. 207.

both of them deserved infinitely more than they have or will suffer here. if Arnolds Villany and Clintons Meaness had succeeded it would have been a fatal Blow. as it is, it is hard to say which of the two has acted the most infamous part. if one has betrayed his trust, and his Country, the other has disgraced his Nation (if possible) and Mankind by stooping to a Measure that would mark a Savage with Eternal Infamy.

Since the defeat of Gen'l Gates in the South, in which the Enemy lost more than they got, our Affairs are constantly assuming a Good Countenance there, our Army is re-established there, have been successful in several Skirmishes, and I think the Militia there will soon be good Soldiers and learn to stand both the fire and the Bayonet of the Enemy. The Grand Army by drafts, etc., is said to be in as good a condition as to Numbers, etc., as at any time. we have had great difficulties in supplying them with Provisions, etc. they have sometimes suffered. but I hope the measures taken by the several States will prevent in future any difficulty from that quarter. They are acting on the defensive, watching the Enemy, and they in their turn watching them. no Enterprize or great Strokes on either side, and every thing looks like an Inactive Campaign. The French Fleet and Army are shut up in Newport by a Superior British Fleet. A reinforcement has been expected all Summer, it is now time perhaps to dismiss all further Expectations of that kind, and to satisfy our selves with Speculations on some ill Management of matters somewhere. the Troops and Ships arrived are said to be very fine, and I think if we are disappointed, they must be mortifyed. to be reduced to a state of Inaction after crossing the Atlantic with high Expectations must be among the last stages of Mortification, to fine officers of high Birth and distinction. with regard to ourselves Penobscot is still in the hands of the Enemy, who keeps 4 or 500 Men there, and some Armed Vessels. we keep on the Eastern Shore at different places about 600 Men to guard against their depredations. some few Skirmishes have taken place but nothing of consequence. Our Coast has not been much infested with British Ships, and Privateers this Season the French Fleet keep the British Men of War pretty much collected, and from that cir-

cumstance only great advantages have been derived to our Trade, and perhaps in a War which seems to be a Tryal whose Purse shall hold out longest the advantage may be general. Britain has kept up a great Force to watch that Fleet and Army, and consequently have been at great Expence.

Our Privateers have made many prizes and perticularly struck a great Stroke on the Quebec Fleet.[1] Our Taxes are heavy the People groan, and pay them slowly, and complain of the Scarcity of Money, but still it does not Appreciate. it stands at about seventy for one, and will be uniformly Mysterious. A great deal of Silver is circulating. Bargains are almost as common in hard as Paper Money. it is difficult to say where it all comes from, tho' the French Fleet and Army introduce a great deal. The New Government is the Principal Topic of Conversation. the General Court meets under the New Constitution the week after next. Hancock is undoubtedly chosen Governor by a very great Majority. his Popularity is greater than ever. No Body was set in competition with him but Mr. Bowdoin and he stood no chance. frequent and brilliant Entertainments strengthen his popularity, and whether it will end in Absolute Adoration, or in the Exhaustion of the Sources of profusion I cant say. he this day feasts the French Minister (who came to Town last Evening) and the Council at the Castle. No Person has a Majority of Votes for a Lieutenant Governor. it is said Mr. Bowdoin has the greatest Number, and probably may be chose by the two Houses. about twenty-six Senators are chose by the several districts. some whole Counties have made no choice at all, Plymouth among the rest.

The Continental Navy is reduced to four Ships and a Brig't. The *Trumbul* and *Dean* with the Brig't. *Saratoga* are on a Cruize. the *Confederacy* is at Philadelphia, where she has lain five months, and will not sail soon. the *Alliance* is here, and lays waiting for Money to fix her out. she came here in a distracted Situation. Landais behaves like a Madman, is censured by a Court of Enquiry and suspended, to be tryed by a Court Martial. Barry is in command of her. Officers and Men came here cursing with

1 It was stated that twenty-two vessels were intercepted and captured. *Gentleman's Magazine*, L. 444.

bitterness the Managers of our affairs in France. they have certainly been abused by some Body or other. Your Trunk is not to be found on Board. if it came out it is lost, but as Doct'r Winship [1] in whose care I understand it was left did not return in this Ship, perhaps he kept back the Trunk, and the sooner it is enquired after the better. I have received but two short Letters from you, one by the *Marquiss*, the other by the *Alliance*. do you treat all your Friends in this way, or am I the most neglected. as for the Affairs of Europe, we know but little more of them than of those in the Moon. I had the pleasure of some Acquaintance with Doct'r Lee and learnt some things from him, but few that are pleasing. he is gone to Philadelphia. The Delegates are new chosen, Adams, Lovel, and Ward are at Congress Gerry, Holton, and Partridge are at Home. one is yet wanted to compleat the Number 7. Strong [2] and Danielson [3] have been chosen and refused. Mrs. Adams shall be informed of this Opportunity, and will doubtless write you. it grows late, and as I dont recollect any thing further at present conclude with Assurances of Friendship Yours Affectionately,

J. Warren

October 16th. The Enemy have lately made some havock among our Privateers, and Mr. Knox is arrived from England with a Load of Goods. I suppose under the Sanction of Doct'r F's Certificate.[4]

Arthur Lee to James Warren

Philadelphia, *Oct.* 30th, 1780

My dear Sir, — I arrivd in this City after a tedious [journey] about a fortnight since. I am in hopes of settling my Affairs with Congress without the disagreable necessity of a public Appeal. I find Congress much disposd to attend to public business, and avoid disputes; a laudable disposition and worthy of being culti-

1 Amos Winship, surgeon on the *Alliance*. 2 Caleb Strong?
3 Timothy Danielson (1733–1791). Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, II. 411.
4 A letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, October 24, 1780, is in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 212.

vated, tho' my Arch-Enemy Mr. Duane avails himself of it to prevent my having full justice, which Congress, but for the fear of his exciting new discord upon it, seem perfectly inclind to do me.

The conversations I had in the course of my journey with the Governors Trumbull and Clinton satisfy me that they are good and wise Whigs. I stayd some days with the Army which is in every respect ill-supplied; but after the example of their Leaders, they bear it with patriotic patience. The detention of the Cloathing, which was to have been sent from France, subjects them to great distress, and enquiry is now making into the cause of that detention. The Admiralty have applied to me for an Account of it; but the most satisfactory facts ought to come from the Purser, Sailing Master, Captain of Marines and Log Book of the *Alliance*. By ascertaining when She arrivd at L'Orient, when the Supplies She brought were shipt, how long She lay with them in without Dr. Franklin's ordering or taking any measures for her Sailing, how soon after her arrival at L'Orient She might have been laden and fitted for Sea, what prevented this being done, the alterations and expense the frigate was subjected to by Capt. Jones and the violence of his conduct towards the Purser and some of her People together with his Agent Mr. Moylan's [1] attempt to starve the Crew; all these would shew to whom public odium and punishment is due. Capt. Jones in Letters to the Admiralty and Mr. R. Morris has accusd me of being the cause of all this; and therefore I am more desirous that the truth shoud be fully investigated. Among other things he has insinuated that my family and Baggage were accommodated in the Space which shoud have been occupied by the public Stores. Now the Officers can testify and I rely on your friendship for having these points put to them, that my Carriage was left behind because it woud have taken up room in the frigate, that I brought with me only my youngest Nephew, who was my Secretary, that my other Nephew having paid his passage in a Merchant Vessel was taken in during the voyage with several other passengers, the vessel being in distress and obligd to put back. That instead of occupying any useful room in the

1 James Moylan, commercial agent at L'Orient.

frigate, I lay upon the tiller case and both my Nephews with one of the Officers in his birth. It is perpetually Dr. Franklin's practice to employ his wicked tools; a number of whom he keeps always connected with him, to accuse others of the crimes of which he is himself guilty. His recal is to be movd for on monday, but I do not think it will be carried.

By the latest advices from Europe 53 Sail of the british W. and E. India fleets were safe in spanish ports with 1500 land forces bound for the E. Indies.[1] We may compute their value at 3 million sterlg. which is a most dreadful blow and must bankrupt half the Nation. Clinton with 3500 troops has landed at Portsmouth in Virginia and is overrunning the Country which is very ill-prepard to repel him.

I beg you will not forget my most respectful Compliments to Mrs. Warren. It is no flattery to say that I never met with a Lady whose conversation pleased me more, and of whose esteem I shoud be more flatterd.

If you shoud be in town please to remember me to the President and his Family, to Capt. Bradford Mr. Vernon, Dr. Cooper and other friends. I have the honor to be with the greatest esteem, Dear Sir, your most Obedt Servt

A. Lee

P.S. Oct. 31st. By the latest intelligence we learn that Cornwallis had began a precipitate retreat from Charlotte, and it was thought the cause of it was some attack made upon their possessions by the Spaniards, Genl Grean and Baron Steuben.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [2]

Boston, *Novr.* 2d, 1780

My dear Sir, — This day has Compleated all our Elections Except for a Lieut. Governor in the room of Mr. Bowdoin, who refused. Tomorrow that is to be done and I suppose will be in the same stile. it is Impossible to describe to you in its full Extent the

1 Taken on August 7.
2 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

prevalence of a Certain Influence here. the Papers will at least shew you that it Exceeds any that ever took place in any Country, and if it be as lasting as it is violent and Extensive, will be a Singular Phenomenon. indeed, I had no hand in the matter haveing gone to [Plymouth] the Saturday before and not knowing till I got Home that I was a Representative. when I returned I found things as they were. but in the whole System (for a System it is) Nothing Excited my resentment so much as the Neglect you are treated with. neither your Beloved Town, the County, the State, or the Two Houses have shewn any Gratitude for your many and great Services, and the Man who had the greatest hand in the greatest revolution in the world, in the Choice of a Secretary, could not be supported in Competition with Mr. Avery. I have feelings on this Occasion which I shall not Attempt to describe in a Letter. Mr. Bowdoin, Genl. Ward and myself had the highest Numbers of Votes for Lieut. Governor, but the House selected Mr. Bowdoin and Coll. Orne for the Senate to take one from, who they will select tomorrow, I neither know nor Care. Mr. Powel has been Chose a Senator this day in the room of Mr. Bowdoin and Mr. Jona. Greenleaf in the room of Mr. Gerry, and the former Elected President. [*Some lines erased and others struck out.*] every thing past is forgot and every Body that will not worship the great Image is to be treated in that way, and the man that formed and fashioned it, not for the purposes of Idolatry but public good has not Escaped.[1]

[*No signature.*]

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

BOSTON, *November* 15, 1780

SIR, — I put a Letter of Introduction into the Hand of a Son who has since unfortunately been made a prisoner by the *Portland* Man of War, and though held as an Hostage till the fulfilment of Certain Conditions Mentioned in a Cartel sent to Boston, he has been treated with Great Humanity and politeness, by Admiral

1 The rest of the letter is missing.

Edwards,[1] and by late Letters I find he purposes to pursue his Voyage to Europe, and if he meets with no New Disappointment in England, it will not be long before he will reach Paris, where agreable to your friendly and polite invitation he will immediately wait on you.

I believe I may venture to say he is a youth who will by no part of his Conduct disgrace the Recommendations of his Friends, or disappoint the Expectations of the parent. Yet whoever enters at an early period, amidst a World of strangers and traverses a stage where art, not Nature reigns, ought to be well acquainted with himself, as well as with the History of Man, to parry the Intrigues laid for Innocence, and even thus Guarded, without the aid of Experience he may be liable to many inconveniences in a Country where politeness assumes the air of Friendship, where Refinement is wrought up into the Exstream of Elegance, and Luxury heightened by a systematical desire to please.

I am sir too well acquainted with your disposition to think it necessary to ask your philosophic Hints, which united with his own Good sense, I trust will lead him through with approbation.

Shall I again repeat that I think myself Happy in the full Confidence of Friendship with a Gentleman at once so competent to advise, Direct, and aid, and so Ready to point the youthful ardor of early years to that Line of Conduct which leads to Happiness.

His Views are chiefly of a Commercial Nature, but improved by Industry and Observation, it may be a Happy Opportunity of Qualifying for more extensive usefulness. I once thought I should have trembled for the safety of a son, in the Morning of Expectation, in the Zenith of Warm hope, steping into the Larger Theatres of Intrigue, Bussiness, and Luxuriant Taste.

But I have now no Idea that the Morals of youth can suffer much by leaving Boston for any part of Europe, and the Change of Manners in this Country has brought me to bid Defiance to any disagreable Consequences from a Change of place. A thousand things on this occasion might flow from the lip of Maternal tenderness, did not Civility to you, and an Attention to your public Avocation, forbid.

1 Richard Edwards. See Allen, *A Naval History of the American Revolution*, 625.

I shall therfore only add on this subject, if my son reaches your Residence, whither it be in France or Holland, I am sure of a New proof of your Friendship to the Father, in the Explicit opinions you will occasionally give, both of Men, and Manners, and the kind assistance you will confer (if necessary) to the prosperity of a Beloved Son. as I understand he destroyed most of his Letters on the Capture of the *Pallas*, the above is nearly a copy of a few Lines designed for you dated May 15th, '80.

In that was hinted the situation of your Country, the Various opinions of priests, polititians, statsmen, soldiers and courtiers, with regard to the Establishment of Civil Government in the Common Wealth of Massachusetts. The Arrangement of officers under the New Constitution you will have from other hands, and a Detail of the administration, as well as opperation, of a system, so compleat in all its parts, that the Wishes of all parties are concentered in one Great Object, and Whigs and Tories, Infidel and Religionists all agree that some portion of Idolitry is Necessary for the support of the political Machine. of course the Daily Incense is offered in the Capital, and the Guilded puppet placed on the public Theatre a few years ago (for certain purposses) is Become the Idol to whom the supple Homage of Adulation is paid, by a people once Disinterested, Firm, Discerning, and Tenatious of Their Rights.

That tinture of Enthusiasm which is perhaps characteristic of the North American is now heated with the Emulation of Exhibiting the Highest Instances of Worship. yet the Image whose Feet are of Clay,[1] may in a short time become as the Chaff of the summer Threshing Floor, unless like another *Pisastratus*, for the sake of prolonging his power, he should Govern according to the Minutest Forms of the Constitution.

Forgive this little sally. was you sir in this City you would not Wonder. Addresses, Assemblys, Entertainments and Balls have ushered in the Happy Era of Republicanism. if this Infant Common Wealth can thus stand in its pupilage, when Time has Matured its strength, and the Horrors of War are Dispeled, will it not become the Wonder of the World. But I forbear. I in-

1 Hancock.

tended no political observations when I began, least amidst the complicated scenes arround us, I might be led to say something to the Disadvantage of my Country, if it should chance to be perused by any Eye but yours. . . .

MARCIA WARREN

SAMUEL ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, *Novr.* 20th, 1780

MY DEAR SIR, — In your Letter of the 17th of Septr. which is still before me you say, that "the Tongue of Malice has always been employd against me," and in mentioning it, you discover the Feelings of a Friend. It may perhaps in some Measure relieve those Feelings, if I tell you that it serves to make me the more Watchful over my self, lest by any Misconduct, I should afford Occasion to malicious Men, to say that of me which would give me just Cause to be ashamd. It is said to be a Misfortune to a Man, when all speak well of him. Is it then an Advantage to a Man, that he has Enemies? It may be so, if he has Wisdom to make a good Use of them. We are apt to be partial, in our own Judgment of our selves. Our Friends are either blind to our Faults, or not faithful enough to tell us of them. The malicious Man will utter all Manner of Evil of us, and contrive Means to send it post haste to our Ears. and if among much Slander, they say some Truths, what have we to do, but to correct past Errors, and guard against future ones. The Report you mention as propagated of me, is groundless. Would any Man in his Senses, who wishes that the War may be carried on with Vigor, prefer the temporary and expensive Drafts of Militia, to a permanent and well appointed Army. But Envy knows no other Business than to calumniate?

Mr. Penny [Penet] has deliverd me your Favor of the 2d Instant. He has also brought us a Paper which exhibits a Picture of the Times. You express too much Resentment at the Ingratitude which you imagine has been shown to your Friend — that his Name has not been found in any of the Lists, and especially,

that he could not be supported in Competition with Mr. [Avery]. Your Friend makes no Claims on his Country, nor does he set himself in Competition with Mr. [Avery] whose Connexions have made him a necessary Man.[1] He is, I confess, one whom I have esteemd for his Honesty and easy good Humour. We have been entertaind with the Speeches both before and after putting on the Regalia, and we expect to see Congratulatory Addresses from various Orders, civil and ecclesiastick. I shall pity the Governor if he is apt to be discomposd with the high Complimentary Stile. I could wish, if we must have abundant Addresses to see the manly Simplicity of Barckly the Quaker in his Dedication to Charles the 2d of England.[2] Excepting that Instance, I do not recollect ever to have seen an Address to a Great Man, that was not more or less, and very often deeply, tincturd with Flattery.

If the Town Clerk of Ephesus,[3] has "treated me with great Disrespect," I am sorry *for him.* It gives me no Uneasiness on my own Account. If he treats every one in that way who "will not worship the Great Image," he leaves me in the best of Company, Company which he may at another Time, find it his Interest, if that governs him, to court and respect. We are even reducd to the Hutchinsonian Times, if a Citizen shall think himself constraind to malign his *old* Friend, merely because the Great Man has been prevaild upon to mark him as *his* Enemy? But the History of all Ages and all Countries shows, that there is no Absurdity into which Idolatry will not lead Men. Pray remember me to my Friend Mr. Gerry, and tell him I have not forgot his Letters and that I will write him soon. All my Friends complain of me for Omission on that Score. Mr. Peny I suppose will return in a few Days. Adieu. Your affectionate,

S. A——

Will you call on Mrs. A. and let her know that I am well.

1 Perhaps Avery is the person described in a letter to Mrs. Adams, March 7, 1779, in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 129.

2 Robert Barclay (1648–1690). The letter to the King, dated November 25, 1675, is in the *Apology*.

3 William Cooper.

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

BOSTON, *November* 22d, 1780

MY DEAR SIR, — Two days ago I received your favour of the 18th March, without ever hearing before of, or seeing since the Gentleman there recommended. when I have an Opportunity I shall most certainly pay proper respect to your recommendations, by taking proper Notice of him. my last to you was by a French frigate from Newport with a copy of what went by Capt. Hayden from here to Amsterdam I believe I gave you a General State of our Affairs here, and as you will doubtless get one of them, I shall not trouble you with repetitions. since that our New Government has taken place. the Papers will tell you who are the Governing Powers, that compose the Administration. it is only necessary for me to tell you that it is now perfectly Systematic. the Influence here is as uniform, and extensive as in England, and the Criterion to determine the qualifications for office much the same as in the most Arbitrary Governments, or in the most servile Nations. how long this will last I dont know. whether Pisistratus will be able to establish himself Perpetual Archon, or whether he will be able to convey that Honor and rank to his Family by hereditary right Time must determine he has no Guards, yet established, but he has unbounded Adulation, and Submission and that may effect here all the purposes for which Guards were necessary at Athens. it is certain there is a greater Influence, and a more unlimited Confidence here than is consistent with a Republican Government, that Influence has already effected here what Hutchinson was never able to do, it has not only removed S. Ad[ams] from all Share in the Government but taken from him his Bread, and given the Secretaryship to Mr. Avery,[1] Son-in-Law to the Lieutenant Governor. Your Friend Gerry is the next Object and who among you that at Congress committed the unpardonable Sin of opposing or not submitting to his Measures, is uncertain. perhaps the Extent of the Atlantic may secure you, and Mr. Dana for a while. we have no public News. our Troops have

1 John Avery (1739–1806) held the office of Secretary of the Commonwealth from 1780 to his death.

gained some Advantages in Carolina, but there is no prospect of any great, and decisive Strokes. Clinton is landed in Virginia with about 3500 Troops what will be the Issue is uncertain. Chesapeak is a fine Trap, if policy and spirit should dictate to the French in the W. Indies an Expedition here. The State of Vermont as they stile themselves grow Troublesome. I believe it is certain they have made a Truce with the Gov. of Canada for a Number of days, and it is said they are on this occasion making peremptory demands on Congress, to acknowledge their Independence, within a certain Time. the French Fleet and Army still at Newport and the several States employed in ways and means to fill up their Army during the War and in arranging their finances to pay and supply them. if any Body asks how long the War is to continue, I shall refer them to you, who can tell much better than I can. Mrs. Warren writes to you, and may make her own Acknowledgments for the Compliment you make her. My Compliments to Mr. Dana and the Young Gentlemen. I am Your Friend and Humble Servant,

J. Warren

P.S. We hear that Mr. Laurence [Laurens] is taken and carried to Newfoundland,[1] and that you are at Amsterdam I wish you success and Happiness wherever you are.

No Advice yet of the Trunk committed to Doct'r Winship, and perhaps never will, unless you catch him in France.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [2]

Plymo., *Decr.* 4th, 1780

My Dear Sir, — My last was upon the Subject of dissipation of Manners. this shall be on Inattention to public Principles. Either of them may be dangerous to a Young Republic, and when united may Shake the foundations of an old one. I suppose you have before this seen the doings and Resolutions of the Hartford

1 Taken in the *Mercury* packet from Philadelphia.
2 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

Convention.[1] if one of them does not astonish you I have forgot my political Catechism. surely History will not be Credited when it shall record that a Convention of Delegates from the four New England States and from the next to them met at Hartford in the Year 1780, and in the heigth of our Contest for public Liberty and Security solemnly Resolved to recommend it to their several States to Vest the Military with Civil Powers of an Extraordinary kind and, where their own Interest is Concerned, no less than a Compulsive power over deficient States to oblige them by the point of the Bayonet to furnish money and supplies for their own pay and support. this must have been done without recollecting political Maxims, without attending to Historical Admonitions and warnings, or the Principles on which our Opposition to Britain rests. General Washington is a Good and a Great Man. I love and Reverence him. But he is only a Man and therefore should not be vested with such powers, and besides we do not know that his successor will be either Great or Good. much less can we tell what Influence this precedent may have half a Century hence. sat Verbum sapienti. I hope the Resolution will at least shew Congress that something is necessary to be done. it is obvious that your proportions of Men and supplies to the several States are unequal and Consequently Unjust.[2] but what is more surpriseing is your Method for a final Adjustment, which is a full and ample Encouragement to every State to be totally deficient. the Exertions of M[assachusetts] and Hampshire supported your Army last Campaign. they gave Three pounds for Beef. Connecticut and the other deficient States as a reward for their Shameful Negligence are to be Excused upon paying 33/4. we are now again Exerting ourselves on your New Requisitions (which by the way come very late), but this cant last long unless the other States are made to do their Duty. shall the M. over Taxed as they are furnish the whole and P[ennsylvania] not a Thousandth part, and Connecticut not a quarter, and so sink one-half the value and be at the same time Continually wounded with the Groans of the Army. some new Step must be taken, or

1 *Records of Connecticut*, II. 562.
2 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVIII. 1011.

the Ship will go on Shoar. I have no News. I wish you every Happiness and am your Friend,

J. Warren

What has been the fate of our Memorial. if Congress will not do us Justice, I will Instantly quit, or rather I must.

James Lovell to James Warren

Decr. 5, 1780

Dear Sir, — In your Letter of Sepr. 28 you make the most just Remarks upon the manner in which our naval Affairs have been fostered here; I think it not becoming my Situation to say *starved.*

Some days ago the Salaries given Sepr. 13 and 23 were made to have retrospect to Nov 2d 1778, but, yesterday, to Sepr. 1 1777.

By Letters from Spain recd. yesterday I find that our Friend Jos. Gardoqui will be here to succeed Don Mirailles. Spain is slow towards alliance, well disposed as to Money for our Use, but, be assured, she wants it herself *there.* She may help us nearer home. She was upon a Scheme of getting some in France which Necker found out and stopped by his Influence.[1]

I shall not be able to hint these Things to Mr. Gerry. In short, I believe I shall soon be obliged to omit taking Pen in hand except on Committees; I shall otherwise neither serve the public nor my friends with propriety. Your Friend and humb Servt.

J. L.

Some Constitutions of Bodies politic may be supposed to be so good in themselves that, like some human Frames, they may not want a skilful Physician to watch them: They may only now and then stand in need of an half bred Apothecary and his Assistant, with their Ivory Tube.

1 "No printing" is written against this paragraph.

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN ADAMS MSS.

AMSTERDAM, *Decr.* 9, 1780

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Your Favours of July 11 and 19 are before me. They were received at Paris in my absence and it is not long since I received them. I have led such a wandering Life that I have not had Time to answer them, till now.

We expect every day to receive the Lists of the new Administration, the Speech at opening the first General Court, etc. A high regale they will be.

I am of your Mind concerning the Flaggs to England and the Importations from thence. Poor Trumbull and Tyler, as well as Mr. Laurens, will convince our Countrymen, I hope. Great Britain has become literally in the Language of old Authors concerning Atilla, "The Scourge of God and the Plague of Mankind." She must be abandoned and renounced for-ever. There has been too much weak Communication with them which must be cut off.

I can tell you little News from this Country. The Designs of France and Spain you will learn from others; you cannot have them from me because I know them not. The Design of the Dutch is to keep Peace, if possible. No Resentments of Injuries or Insults, No Regard to national Honour or Dignity will turn them out of their pacific Course. They will lend Money and hire Transports to the English and sell Goods to America and naval Stores to France and Spain; in short, get Money out of all Nations, but go to war with none. They will not lend us any Money, nor do anything to favour us, but get Money out of us, lest England should declare War against them for aiding, abetting and comforting Rebellion, against Treaties which the English have long since declared void, but the Dutch still hold sacred, as their Honour and their Religion.

Such a Nation of Idolaters at the Shrine of Mammon never existed, I believe, before. The English are as great Idolaters, but they have more Gods than one.

The Republick, however, has acceded to the armed Neutrality, and we expect in the Course of five or six Weeks to know the Principles and the System of it, how many Nations have joined

in it, and what we may expect from it. The Principle that free Ships shall make free Goods, will assist us in procuring present Supplies, and will be more useful to America hereafter, when she, as I hope, will be neutral, although other Nations may be at war, than to any nation of Europe. But I don't expect that any sensible Advantage will result from it to us, very soon. The Prince of Orange and the States General will proceed so slowly, not to say will affect so many Delays, that it will be some years before any great Thing will result from it.

My eloquent Friend, the Abby Raynal, whose History you mention, is publishing a new Edition of that work in which he has inserted the compleat History of our Revolution. He says he has mentioned my Name as one of the Characters without which the Revolution would not have been accomplished. At the same time, he says, he has cast some Blame upon me. I told him I was then sure at least of such an Immortality as he wanted who burnt the Temple, but I have promised to attack him if he has abused me. He won't let me see it; perhaps he may alter it and erase my Name. I told him he ought to, if he has ascribed a fifth part of the work to me, as he says has, because [1] it is exactly one three millionth that belongs to me. Be it as it may suum cuique Decus Posteritas expendit. I wish I were at home, that I might do something worthy of History; here I can do nothing. The beauteous olive Branch will never decorate my Brows. I must spend my Life in the Pride, Pomp and Circumstance of glorious War, without sharing any of its Laurels.

My most profound Respect to Mrs. Warren. I dread her History more than that of the Abby. I want to know in what Colours she will draw Brother Lee. He little knew what eyes were upon him. Most affectionately yours.

1 It is exactly $\frac{1}{3{,}000{,}000}$th that belongs to me. — Note by John Adams.

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN ADAMS MSS.

AMSTERDAM, *Decr.* 9, 1780

MADAME, — It is not long since I received your Favour of the 24 of July, and a wandering unsettled Life has prevented me hitherto from answering it. Be assured, Madame, that my Friends are not so good Correspondents as you think them. You may almost always take it for granted that I am uninformed and that every Piece of Information from home will be agreeable and usefull to me.

I wish Success to the Act for cutting off, forever, all Communication with England. We shall never have any but such as will be pernicious to us. That unfortunate Nation grows every day more and more inimical to us and to themselves. They have been great and wise, but their Day is past. They will persecute us, as they did our Fathers, and the worst Engine they have to play against us is the Remainders of a Prejudice in their favour.

The Letter, Madame, which you sent me by your Son, I suppose is in the Sea. His Capture is no longer unknown to you. Where he is I know not; I hope in America, exchanged. It would have given me great Pleasure to have contributed somewhat to his Entertainment in Europe. It is not, however, a Country where I should wish the Sons of my Friends, any more than my own, to reside. There are Snares enough for youth every where; but they are fewer in America than here, and American youth discover in Europe, I think, a greater Propensity to Folly and Vice than the Natives. I grow every day more and more wearied and disgusted with Europe, and more and more impatient to return forever to that Country where alone I ever was or shall be happy. Perhaps, however, I may not be so fortunate in crossing the Ocean the fourth time. Perhaps a long Imprisonment, or a Fate more disagreeable, still may be before me. Whatever it may be I shall meet it with Fortitude and comfort myself with the Reflection that no Man ever suffered in a nobler Cause.

There are in my Power means enough for the Pursuits of Pleasure and of Knowledge: but I have not the Inclination to make that Advantage of them which I should have done in earlier Life, before my Soul was bowed down with Care.

I have seen in the Course of the last year a Variety of Kingdoms, Empires and Republicks, and as great a Variety of Religions, and had a fine opportunity of remarking the Effects of them upon human Nature, and indeed upon the very Face of the Earth. And the Result of all has been a stronger Attachment to the Religion and Government of my native Country than ever. I wish every American youth could have borne me Company. He would not afterwards need to swear upon the high Altar Enmity to Britain, nor Friendship to America. It seems to me impossible that Arnold should have been a Traitor if he had ever made the Journey from Ferrol to Amsterdam. How much should we deplore that Spirit of Dissipation, Vanity and Knavery, which infects so many Americans and threatens to ruin our Manners and Liberties in Imitation of the old World.

This to be sure, Madame, is preaching; but it is preaching to a Lady who knows it to be sound doctrine and therefore will not despise the sermon because it contains nothing new. I have the Honour, etc.

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLYMOUTH, *December* 19th, 1780

MY DEAR SIR, — Having wrote you so often and so fully, I presume you would readily excuse me if I omitted this Opportunity more especially as I am at a distance from the Capital, and have no certain News to hand you, but that Admiral de Ternay died a few days ago of a fever after a few days Illness, which perhaps may have been occasioned by Chagrin and disappointment. it is also reported here that Cornwallis with 4000 Men have been surrounded by our Troops in Carolina and taken Prisoners. if this should prove true, it will be a great Stroke, and damp the Joy in England on the Acquisition of Charlestown.

Our New Government has been Ushered in with Great Splendor, Balls, Assemblies, Entertainments and Feasts equal to any thing you can tell of in Europe. The silly feelings of Compassion for the distresses of the Country, and the wants and sufferings of the

Army have little to do in the Capital. The whirl of pleasure and amusement has taken into its Vortex the Deacons and the other good People who seldom used to be seen in public but at their Devotions. Whether you will find good Deacon I——rs [1] and good Mr. Scol[la]y [2] in the dancing or drawing room at a Game of Whist or leading down a Country Dame is uncertain, but if the present G[overno]r is in office on your return you may possibly find them in one or the other. we are trying to get an Army for the war or three years I hope to succeed. I shall write you more by the next Conveyance permit me to trouble you with the Inclosed Letter, and to ask you to tell me how my Son does, and if his Conduct meets your Approbation. Accept Mrs. Warren's regards, and believe me to be Your Sincere Friend and Humble Servant,

J. Warren

Arthur Lee to James Warren

Philadelphia, *Decr.* 25, 1780

Dear Sir, — This will be deliverd to you by my friend Col. Laurens,[3] who is sent Minister to sollicit immediate aid from the Court of Versailles. It is late, but still it may be of use. I have proposd to Congress the sending a Minister to the Court of Petersburg, as the Power of most influence in the neutral Confederation which Confederation it is probable will greatly influence the terms of a general pacification. Our friend Mr. Dana is accordingly namd Chargé des afaires at that Court: Congress have also adopted another proposition for establishing a Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, but have not yet fixt upon the person. A Committee have reported that Docr. Franklin ought to be recalld. But Congress have not yet determind upon the report, nor do I know what will be their opinion.

I have learnt this day that the Purser of the *Alliance* [4] deposd, upon Capt. Landais trial that he brought over in the *Alliance* five hundred pounds worth of Goods on my Account. But he ought to

1 Ivers? 2 John Scollay. 3 John Laurens. 4 Nathan Blodget.

have stated the whole truth which was, that I objected to their coming in the *Alliance*, lest it shoud be an infringment of the rules of the Navy, nor woud agree to it, but on his assuring me, that he had leave from the Navy-board to bring a certain quantity of Goods on his own account and in his own berth, and that these shoud be a part of that quantity. This I always understood they were, and therefore that they infringd no rule nor occupied any space that woud otherwise have been employd for the public. If these things were not so, he mislead me; for the freight of them in any of the Ships that came with us woud have been but £50, an object too inconsiderable to induce any one to do what he thought wrong.

With my best respects to Mrs. Warren, I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, your most sincere friend and Servant,

ARTHUR LEE

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLIMOUTH, *December* 28th, 1780

SIR, — Mr. Warren directed to you only one week since, by Capt. Cazneau bound to Amsterdam, therefore has now left it to me to write one line asking your Care of the inclosed, to a son for whose Welfare (a Heart so Replete as yours with all the parental affections) will not wonder I am exceedingly solicitous.

We have not heard from him since he embarked at N'foundland on Board the *Vestal* Frigate, in which we learn your Friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Laurens, was sent to England, and it is Reported here, was immediately Confined to the tower. I hope this Worthy Man will receive no personal injury, nor the Bussiness on which he went be Materially affected by his Detention.

Will not the Minstry be at a Loss how to dispose of one in the Character he bears. it will be Humiliating to acknowledge him in the Rank of an Ambassador, it will be trifling, and ridiculous to deny it, it will be mean, ungenerous and base, to treat him in any manner beneath the distinction due to a public Envoy.

How much beyond the Line Marked out in a Letter to you, have

this Good Gentlemans *Perigrinations* Extended, before he "*Retires to Learn to die.*"

But some need not, nor do others wait for such Favourable Circumstances to preceed the Grand Exit. The late sudden Death of a certain Great Officer at N'port is Matter of speculation here.[1] Time must develope the Characters of Men, and unravel the Intrigues of princes, while the Innocent may Weep for the unfortunate and the Vulgar gaze at the fall of Greatness, as suddenly brought low as the Meanest of his own Class. But often a Coincidence of Circumstance may occasion the Vague suspition, and an imputation of Guilt may for a time light on the Head of those who least deserve it.

Happy is the Man who has Equanimity and Virtue enough to Govern the Reins of Ambition, and preventing the Furious Courser from Rushing into forbidden tracks, has true Greatness of soul to bear him above the Disappointments of Life, whither occasioned by the Common acidents of Time, or the Villany of others.

The political situation, the state of Commerce, and the Military opperations of your Country is a Field I dare not enter. they are subjects, too much above the Delineation of my pen. the state of parties, the Rapid Growth of Idolatry, the Worship of the pageant, the Mimic Greatness of Monarchy in Embrio, are too much below its Exertions to describe, nor will I for your sake even make the Attempt.

Mrs. Adams will not write by this Conveyance as it is an unexpected one by way of N'port, but she was well a few days since.

if a youth I have named before is in the same City with you, the highest mark of your Friendship will be that advice I know you sir to be capable of giving to the young and inexperienced stranger. Nor am I less confident of your Readiness to assist the Laudable Wishes of the son of your Friend, (if he deserves it,) by that influence which Flows from a polite and Generous Heart, and that he will not fail to make himself Worthy of your Warmest Recommendations, is the most Flattering hope of his Mother, who sub-

1 Ternay.

scribes with the usual Respect and Esteem. But, sir, before she adds her Name, pray remind my young Friends, that all Health and Happiness is sincerely wished them by

M. Warren

Mr. Warren intends writing by the first opportunity from Boston, desires best Regards to yourself and Mr. Dana, nor is Mr. Thaxter forgoten by his American Friends.

Samuel Adams to James Warren

Philadelphia, *Novr.* 18, 1780

Permit me, my dear Sir, with the most unfeigned Sincerity, to congratulate your Excellency on your Advancement to the Chair of Government in the State of Massachusetts Bay. It affords me inexpressible Pleasure to find that the Freemen of your State have been guided by their Judgment, their Gratitude and Regard for publick Virtue, to give their Suffrages for a Gentleman, who not only possesses sufficient Skill to regulate the political Wheels of Government, but has the Abilities and Disposition to draw forth all the Resources of that important State in Time of publick Danger and lead its Forces against the Common Enemy, with that Judgment and Bravery which must ensure Success.

As I ever supposd your Excellency would have no Rival for the Chair after your Constitution of Government was formed, my Surprize was beyond Description when I found that you had a Competitor for the Chief Magistracy; [1] who in times of publick Danger feard to venture upon the Stage, and whose after Conduct seems rather to have proceeded from fortunate Successes on our Side, than from the Result of Choice and Deliberation.

There are already in America, too many Persons possessing the most important Offices, who at the Commencement of the present Contest, when the Event was doubtful, used every Artifice to destroy that Theater upon which they now appear with so much Safety and Satisfaction. Though this may easily be accounted for, from the Principles which govern the human Heart, yet I confess, I am not able to decide upon the Conduct of those, who have from the earliest Period been high in their Professions, have condemnd the doubting, the timid and the

1 James Bowdoin.

neutral American, and yet use all their Influence to promote those very Persons, in opposition to others who have every Claim, that Principles of Gratitude and Patriotism can inspire to draw their Esteem and Influence. When I discover Conduct like this, I cannot help observing, that it is possible for some Men to possess the best of Principles for the most pernicious Purposes.

That your Excellency may long experience the Gratitude of a brave and generous People, equal to the Merit you have discoverd, both in publick and private Life, is the most fervent Wish of, dear Sir, Your Excellencys most obedient and most humble Servant.

His Excellency Gov. HANCOCK,
Boston.

The foregoing is copied from a Letter signd JOHN SULLIVAN, publishd at New York in the *Royal Gazzette* extraordinary, printed by *James Rivington* Monday Decr. 18, 1780, and said to be a Copy from the original. The Design of the Writer seems to be merely to please a Great Man: That of the Publisher, partly to expose the Writer, but principally to sow the Seeds of Disgust in the Minds of some very respectable Citizens in this Common Wealth. I think Mr. Rivington could not have wishd for a fairer Opportunity, but I am satisfied, they have more Wisdom than to be caught in the Snare.

The Letter is written in the true Stile of modern Address; and it is a Pity it did not make its Appearance in public before; because as it is a perfect Model, it might have been of Use to others, from whom some Inaccuracies have escaped, by Means of their not having been Adepts in that Kind of writing. I have been told that he has frequently been addressed himself, and I am inclind to beleive it. The Effects are such as one might expect from a Man of his Cast. He who is easily susceptible of Flattery, will soon perswade himself that he is in Reality that Great Man which his Flatterers only meant to perswade him to think *they* believe him to be. He will be apt to suppose, that others will have the same exquisite Feelings by being flatterd, as he has had, and that they will conceive themselves as highly honord by it, as he conceives himself to be when others flatter him. Persons who relish Flattery, will for ever be deceivd by those who design to deceive them. He will therefore employ himself in the daubing Business as often as he can find suitable Subjects, and will colour in so fantastick a Manner, as to excite a Blush on the Cheek of any Man who has a Spark of Modesty. He will go on suffering himself to be deceivd, and deceiving others like himself, till he meets with him who only can be called the *truly great* Man, I mean the

Man of stern Virtue. Such a Man will never fail to frown when he is flatterd, and *his* Frowns are Death to the Sychophant.

This Writer pays no great Compliment to the People (indeed I imagine he did not intend it) in supposing that among them all, there could be but one esteemd qualified "to regulate the political Wheels of Government," as he expresses it, [*illegible*] however that he was mistaken. Two were actually in Nomination, and more were thought of by Men of great Judgment, Authority and Experience in publick Affairs. He is totally unacquainted with the Character of the People, as they are with his; nor does he know any thing of the Honourable Gentleman, whom he calls his Excellencys "Competitor," who, he says, "in time of publick Danger feard to venture upon the Stage, and whose after Conduct seems rather to have proceeded from *fortunate* Successes on our side, than from the Result of Choice and deliberation." I am also ready to presume, that he is not fully acquainted with the Person whom he takes upon himself so freely to address. He ought to have supposd that his Excellency would not have been well pleasd with a fulsome Compliment paid to himself, at the Expence of one of the best Characters in the State. But when men will flatter, they run a tilt with Honor, Justice and Truth, and if their Flattery takes, they feel no Remorse. The Gentleman whom he has attackd, was long before he paddled out of obscurity one of the Helmsmen of the Ship of the State; was markd by Bernard and Hutchinson as a Champion for American Liberty, was negatived by them repeatedly, by express Order of the British Ministry, when he had the full Voice of his Country for a Councillor; continued in the high Esteem of his fellow Citizens, till the Royal Government was dissolvd by Common Consent, when the opportunity offerd, for him to take a Seat which had so long been prevented by the Governor. This he did, at Watertown, while the Enemy were in Boston. A Time, which Men, *perhaps* less brave, but perhaps however, of more solid *Judgment* than the Letter writer, thought to be a "Time of publick Danger." He remaind a Member of that Board, till every Body saw his Health was in so bad a State as no longer to allow of it. He therefore resignd his Seat; a Circumstance, which, though all judgd necessary, was regretted by all. He has since however, sustaind the honorable Places of President of that much revered Body who formd the Constitution, and President of the Council of the State and he is at this time President of the American Society of Arts and Sciences in Massachusetts. How little are the Great Characters in this Revolution known, to those who were *not the earliest* in the virtuous Conflict!

ARISTIDES

Dear Sir, — The Letter with the Strictures upon it, I propose to be publishd in Boston if you approve of it. I hope the Press there is free, as the Constitution dictates. If it is not, the Liberties of the People which we have been struggling for, will, in my opinion be soon lost. I see nothing in the strictures disrespectfull to the Governor or the Government. Indeed they were hastily drawn, and I am not unmindful of the Fable of the Ape and her young one. My Design is to discountenance the Lovers of Flattery, and to vindicate a respectable Character which has been wantonly attackd. We must support such characters. You will easily see that for one reason and one only, it would be imprudent for me to be known. I am willing however that you should consult confidential *judicious* Friends.[1] Yours. Adieu.

[*No signature.*]

Jany. 1, '81.

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

Janry. 8th, 1781

. . . . . .

Mr. A——s instructions, received by mr. Searl,[2] will oblige him to continue in Holland this winter. A Letter arrived for me at the Southward. mr. L[ovel]l coverd it with, a Letter of his own, and the Enemy kidnapt them both, when they stole the last mail. possibly mr. Rivington may give it me by and by. I question it, however. my absent Friend, made wise by experience, is so warry that I dare say, they will get no Booty in politicks from him. I saw by the last pensilvana paper under York News, that they had got a Letter of Dr. Rush's which they have promissed to print in the Next paper in which say they, he treats the Rebel Senate with great freedom. that both you and I can believe, from former Specimens. Rush will care as little as any body. I wait for a key to a Letter which I have now in my possession to give you something, I fancy which will be entertaining. I mean to write you

1 The communication is not found in any Boston newspaper and was probably unpublished.

2 James Searle, agent of Pennsylvania to negotiate a loan in Europe.

soon and send to Boston for conveyance. my hands freaze by the fire. I return the Muslin having been supplied. the black hankerchiefs mr. Gorge may sell at 75, but I had rather the coulourd should be returnd if they will not fetch 80. I can part with them so here. Regards to the young Gentleman. enclose a Letter and peice of News paper. have you seen Hutchinsons character,[1] and an other peice in the paper, remarks upon George Germains speech in the house of commons? you will know the writer. pity my fingers now, and I will tire you out an other time. Nabby sends Duty, longs to come to plimouth, but I am jealous of trusting her there again least she should love it better than home. I wish you would not live there. come to Boston, to Braintre I had rather, I fancy the place will be to be sold again. yours most affectionately when you are not affronted when you are, sorrowfull very sorrowfull.[2]

J. C——

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

Braintree, *March* 5, 1781

. . . . . .

I hoped before this time to have given you some intelligence from abroad but the *Mars* brings me only two Letters from mr. Thaxter, written before he left Paris. I find by a few lines of mr. dana, that mr. Guile had many Letters. he sailed in October and has not since been heard of. the best that can be hoped of him, is that he may be taken, and even that is a situation to be deprecated considering the inhumane policy which the New parliment and the successes of the Britains at Charlestown have induced them to adopt, as you will see from extracts from mr. A[dam]s Letters to Congress, which I enclose to you, but should be glad may be returnd to me as soon as a safe conveyance offers.

1 "Extract of a letter lately received from a gentleman in Europe" in *The Independent Chronicle*, January 4, 1781.

2 A letter from James Warren to Arthur Lee, January 10, 1781, is printed in Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II. 273; and one from Samuel Adams to James Warren, February 1, 1781, in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 242.

Retaliation is a painfull task to the Humane breasts of Americans, yet is certainly due in justice to the worthy suffering citizens and especially to so aged and so respectable a personage as the late president Laurence [Laurens], and more particularly so on account of the publick character with which he was invested.

o! My dear Madam when I reflect upon this worthy Mans situation I cannot feel sufficient Gratitude to Heaven for preserving my dearest Friend from a similar situation, and thereby trying me with a calamity which would have "harrowd up my soul."

I congratulate you Madam upon the rising Hero in the south. General Morgan by his repeated Successes has brightend the page of our History, and immortalized his own Name, whilst the opportunely expedition of our Allies checked the treacherous Arnold in his cruel ravages, and opens a prospect for his speedy destruction. May the ancient spirit of America rise with her successes, and crush the venal passion for Gain, may every virtuous citizen cooperate with the Martial Spirit, and drive from these Distressed States the Mercenary invaders since that and that alone is like to give us peace.

With regard to our commercial affairs, you must have misunderstood me with regard to Tea, because I never had any but what I purchased by the pound for my family. . . .

[*No signature.*]

Arthur Lee to James Warren

Philadelphia, *June* 15th, 1781

Dear Sir, — I receivd lately some Letters from you of an old date. Others Dr. Shippen tells me he forwarded to Virginia and in the confusion of the times they will probably be lost. Mr. Blodget was exceedingly wrong in answering questions which criminated himself and as far as they concernd me were extrajudicial. He was unjust in telling upon Oath the truth and not the whole truth, which whole truth woud have shewn that the goods were to be containd in one trunk, and that it was at his persuasion

and assurance that the trunk shoud make a part of what he was allowd to bring that I allowd them to be brought in the *Alliance* contrary to what I repeatedly exprest to him. As the Admiralty Board is filld with Duane's friends and Creatures, they did not fail to report this and every thing else they coud cull out against me to Congress. But it has had no Effect, that I know of, on that Body, nor has any use been made [of] it without doors.

There is now operating in union against Dr. Lee's being Minister for foreign Affairs, the french interest, that of Dr. Franklin and of Mr. Duane or of the Tories. You will not therefore wonder that no choice has been made since their Candidate Chancellor Livingston, who, on being detected with his Brother in partnership with Arnold in his illicit plan of Commerce with N. York, retird from Congress, can get but three States.[1] You may judge Sir, by their proposing and supporting such a Candidate, for the most confidential office in the U. S., to what a pitch of audacity toryism has arrivd in Congress. You will also judge what respect the french have for our whigg principles when they cultivate and countenance most openly the avowd Tories. Their policy in this is to have a party devoted to their measures, which they know are not for the interest of America, and which they therefore justly conclude the true whigs woud not support. But they have not sagacity enough to perceive that the Tories are only coinciding with them to gain an ascendency over the Whigs, and that they are ministering to views directly opposite to what they pretend the support of our Independence.

What I always knew must now be clear to every one — that it was not Dr. Lee but his principles that were offensive to the french Court: since in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, they have commenc'd the very same intrigues against our friend Mr. J. Adams. They know that his intentions are to honest, and his mind too firm, for their purposes; and therefore they are endeavoring to disgrace him, or shakle him with the wiles of that old, corrupt Serpent, who has constantly sold this Country to them.

1 On January 17, 1781, Robert R. Livingston was nominated by James Mitchell Varnum and Arthur Lee by Thomas McKean, for the office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs. On August 10 Livingston was again nominated by William Floyd and elected.

From what I know past relative to the Fishery, I am sure that is one of their objects; and that this manouvre is principally to trick us out of that, to which they know Mr. Adams is an invincible obstacle. I am not without my fears, that the wisdom and virtue of Congress, will not be proof against the wiles and temptations they employ. It seems to me therefore, that you shoud endeavor to have strong Instructions sent from N. Hampshire and Rhode Island to their Delegates, who certainly stand in need of them, in support of Mr. Adams and in maintenance of a full and clear right to the Fishery.

I have heard nothing of the Grant of Land made me by the General Court. I am very desirous of having that matter finisht and therefore shall be much obligd to you to attend to its execution. It is not clear to me that those french politics and a confidence in their promises of a second Division, which I believe was never intended, will occasion the total loss of Virginia. It is already almost ruind. Had the 2d Division been sent as it was promist, it woud have enabled us to drive the Enemy out of the Country, confirmd our Independency and finisht the War. But to finish the war is neither the interest nor object of France; therefore it is weak in us to expect they will perform such a promise. But if we coud not penetrate so far into their policy, yet their not having performd what they have promist for fifteen months, while they are sending larger naval Armaments to different parts of the world, to make conquests, shoud warn us that we are made the dupes of their policy and the instruments of their ambition.

Your friends in Virginia are in the neighbourhood of the war, and I fear will be made particular objects of its cruelty and destruction.

I beg my respects to Mrs. Warren and Mrs. Adams and my Compts. to the two Mr. Bowdoins, Mrs. Gerry, Mr. Lowell and the rest of our patriotic friends. Farewell.

[*No signature.*]

ARTHUR LEE TO JAMES WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 27th, 1781

DEAR SIR, — I receivd your favor of the 29th of April a few days ago. The Gentleman you have fixt upon for a high office is indebted to your partiality. Certain it is, that the French have put their veto upon him which is at present absolute. That influence flows in a full stream here, and until it ebbs you must not expect to see his name in any public employment.

It was my intention to have returnd immediately into perfect privacy, but some difficulties about what I had advancd for the State of Virginia obligd me to go thither and return to settle my Accounts, which they are very slow in doing and without which I shall not demand the Salary that is due to me during the time I was Commissioner.

Congress have very injudiciously I fear, and contrary to their resolutions when there was a plot to remove me, joind Dr. F[ranklin] in commission with Mr. Adams when they know that unprincipled old man has created differences with Mr. Adams and is endeavoring to ruin his reputation. Mr. Jay, Laurens the elder and Govr. Jefferson are added. But their Instructions [1] are such as throw them at the feet of Count Vergennes in every thing but Independency. Mr. Adams can no more escape the Snares of old Franklin with the Count to assist him, that I coud. I do not say that such treatment of Mr. Adams is unwise and unworthy; only, it is as cruel as if they had stretchd him upon an iron bed of torture and left the old man at full liberty to glut himself with tormenting him.

And yet it is not easy to determine what our friend shoud [do.] If he resigns he *will* save himself; if he continues he *may* serve the Public. If he resigns he will leave the Public at the mercy of those unprincipled men; if he continues, he may be a check upon them or detect their wickedness. But whether there will ever [be] virtue enough candidly to enquire and duely to punish State crimes; I cannot determine. Now at least is not the time; but perhaps when foreign influence ceases, justice will have its course and vice its reward.

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XX. 651.

I cannot say how much I feel myself flattered by Mrs. Warren's remembrance of me. I sympathize with her and Mrs. Adams in the feelings I know they must have for their Country and their friend from the unworthy proceedings with regard to him in Congress. But as pity humiliates the object of it; I would have them convert it into a noble contempt of those persons who are the authors of this ungrateful treatment. His Country, unless lost to all principle, will do him justice.

My Enemies in Congress avail themselves as much as possible of Mr. Blodget's testimony, to establish a conclusion that I prevented the Clothing and other Stores from being brought in the *Alliance*. Not one of them believe this, but their wish is to impose it upon others in order to shield Dr. Franklin, his Agents and Partners, whose roguery they know was the real cause, and who seem to have determind that the refuse things they purchasd shoud never reach America to bear witness against them. But as the fact upon which they found their calumny is upon Oath and partially stated, I think it proper that the whole shewing what space the Goods occupyd, when they were taken in, and whether they did in any manner whatsoever interfere with the Stores, shoud also be upon Oath, and I beleive Congress will direct the Navy-board to examine Mr. Blodget on Oath to these points.

From the present situation of things it must be some years before the Land granted me can be settled or any profit drawn from it; therefore it woud be reasonable that it shoud be exempted from taxes for a certain number of years; otherwise the grant will be a burthen not a benefit. I shall be much obligd to you to attend to this circumstance, and have it inserted when the Grant is compleated.

Politics here, are all comprizd in a few words. We lean entirely on the French and on Mr. R. Morris. I wish they may prove neither broken reeds, nor Spears to peirce us. No late Advices from Europe.

Please to make my respects acceptable to Mrs. Warren and the Mrs. Adams's, and remember me to Mr. Adams, Gerry, Lowell, Russel and all other friends to the honor and independence of America. Adieu. [*No signature.*]

ARTHUR LEE TO JAMES WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 8th, 1782

DEAR SIR, — I venture so far to trespass on your goodness as to beg the favor of you to get the interest from your Treasury, due for two years upon the enclosd 629 Dolls. of the one for forty emission of your State, and transmit the money to me by the first safe opportunity. I must also trouble you with keeping the Bills themselves for me; that they may be ready to be disposd of, or to draw the interest as hereafter may appear most beneficial.

You will oblige me much, by letting me know, whether, the grant made me by your Assembly has been located, or in what state it rests.

It gave me great pleasure to hear, that you and Mrs. Warren were settled so near Boston, and at so beautiful a Seat as that of the late Govr. Hutchinson.[1] It has not always happend in like manner, that the forfeited Seats of the wicked, have been filld with men of virtue. But in this corrupt world, it is sufficient that we have some examples of it for our consolation.

The detection of Mr. Deane, seems not to have drawn any punishment nor even odium on those who countenancd and profited by his wickedness. Among these Dr. Franklin and Mr. R. Morris, are the most conspicuous. The latter was obligd to acknowledge in the News-papers that he was in partnership with Mr. D[eane] but pretended he thought him a man of honor. The Doctor by Letters of the strongest recommendation endeavord to deceive Congress into a renewal of their confidence in him, with a new and important appointment. There are Letters in town from Mr. Searle, late member of Congress, declaring that he has been repeatedly scandalizd by hearing Mr. Deane utter the abuse against America and France, which is containd in his intercepted Letters, at Dr. F[ranklin]'s table, without any reprehension from the Doctor. Under all there suspicions, Dr. Franklin is appointed one of the Commissioners to negociate a peace, because France wills it; and Congress are complaisant enough to say they trust in his zeal and integrity. God forgive them!

1 In Milton.

The Fishery, I am afraid, is the object and will be the sacrifice of this appointment. This question will come on in Congress, and I think your ablest members shoud be here. But Instructions from Congress will avail little, if a corrupt Commissioner is entrusted with them, who certainly never meaning to return to this Country, will feel himself very easy about our reproaches, while he is enjoying in France the reward of his Treachery. I know from what passd at the Treaties we concluded, that to monopolize the Fishery is the object of France, and I am most sure that Dr. Franklin will be the instrument of effecting it.

The Members from your State, and from Connecticut, seem desirous of admitting Vermont into the Confederation; but it appears very doubtful, whether this can be done agreable to the Confederation or consistent with true policy. The small States, upon this precedent, may dismember the great ones; or as they have an equal voice in proportioning the Quotas, may combine together to burthen the larger States with the whole expence. To acknowlege their independence without giving them a voice in Congress woud answer I conceive every purpose of attaching them to our cause, without hazarding our union by admitting them a Member of the confederation. . . . [1]

A. Lee

Arthur Lee to James Warren

[*July*, 1782.]

Dear Sir, — Your favor of the 1st ult. reachd me safely. I am very much obligd to you for your attention to me both as to the Paper money and the Grant. It is not a little unfortunate that the person so fit for the business shoud have been visited with so greivous a disorder, for which I am very sorry as well on his account as my own. It is probable that times of more safety in those parts will soon happen, for I think the Enemy can hardly continue the war long, and all parties seem disposd to peace.

1 A letter from John Adams to James Warren, June 17, 1782, is in *Writings of John Adams*, IX. 511.

I wish it were in my power to give you any comfort as to the spirit that generally prevails in this Country. It seems as if patriotism was an unnatural feeling, and therefore short-livd; while prostitution and servility, were so congenial with human nature, that they revive and flourish with wonderful rapidity.

By the absolute order of France, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay were joind in commission with Mr. Adams for negociating a Peace. At this very time Congress had the fullest evidence and conviction that Dr. Franklin was both a dishonest and incapable man. Mr. Laurens and Mr. Jefferson were added, but the first was a prisoner, and the latter woud not go. Mr. Jay has with a very becoming spirit desird to be left out of a Commission, which is accompanied with Instructions to obey ultimately the opinion of the french Ministers. This he states, as in his apprehension, so humiliating to the Commissioners, so disgraceful and injurious to America that he cannot submit to it. I have movd in vain for a reconsideration of the Instructions. The yoke is riveted upon us, and the Man who I am sure sold us in the negociation with France, is the sole adjunct with Mr. Adams, in a negociation on which every thing that is dear and honorable to us depend. He, good man, felt no qualms at such a commission, no sense of dishonor or injury to his Country. On the contrary he expressd the utmost alacrity in accepting it, and I believe most cordially; since it puts him in the way of receiving money, which is the God of his Idolatry.

The French, therefore, are to make a peace for us; we have presumd only to desire Independance; but whether it shall be on secure and honorable terms, whether by the stipulations annexd to it we shall participate in the Fishery, in the navigation of the Missisippi, [or] in the western territory, whether conditions trenching nearer, and more shamefully on our rights will accompany the naked and nugatory assertion of Independance, is in the sovereign arbitration of the french Court. To judge what is for our own interest, to instruct our Plenipotentiaries, for them to think and act for us, are treason against the Alliance, by which we were acknowledgd independent and sovereign. In short, the most servile display of the most servile principles, is what alone must

entitle us to the patronage of our great and generous Protector. This was not the sentiment, or language, that commenced the revolution, and I can pledge myself it is not the sentiment or language that will bring it to a happy issue. But there seems to be no public here to appeal to. Sordid pursuits and servile attachments have apparently absorbd all the Faculties of our fellow Citizens. In the last resort, I hope the jealousy of G. Britain and of the other Powers in Europe will prevent France from abusing the power which we have thus basely and imprudently confided to her.

Spain has behavd towards us with very little wisdom or decency; but it is much to be suspected that the French are at the bottom of it; insomuch that a well-informd person on the spot, writes thus: "I have many reasons for believing that the french Court does not wish to see us declard independent by other Nations, lest we shoud become less manageable as we become less dependent on her for support." I have endeavord to inculcate this truth into those to whom it woud be useful, and yet they constantly act in opposition to it.

The rapacity of a certain person after power and profit, and the little caution or wisdom that governs appointments are the reasons for the accumulation of Offices in an unprincipled and suspected Individual. The distress of our Finances which he has the art of colouring high, and plentiful promises of relief from his wonderful abilities, operate like a charm upon weak minds.

I beg you will make my best & most respectful wishes acceptable to Mrs. Warren, and believe [me] always, with the most perfect esteem, Dear Sir, your most sincere friend.

[*No signature.*]

John Adams to James Warren

The Hague, 2 *July*, 1782

Dear Sir,— It is a long time since I had a Line from you, and from Sickness, and various Engagements it is long since I had the Pleasure of Writing to you. I suppose that Milton Hill, furnishes

you with Amusement enough, in your beloved Science and Practice of Agriculture. I wish I had Fortune enough to purchase me an equal Farm upon Pens Hill, and enter into an Emulation with you, which should make his Hill shine the brightest. I find that the various Combinations of Street Dust, Marsh Mud and Horse dung, furnish a more delicate Employment, than the foul Regions of Machiavillian Politicks. but when Honest Wisdom tryumphs over its opposite, as is sometimes the Case, Politicks themselves afford an exquisite Entertainment, to a well regulated Mind.

It is a Problem at present whether the English will evacuate N. York and Charlestown or not. it is very probable they would if they could, but how to get away, a great Number of Transports must be had, these must be protected by a superior Fleet. If Pigot, who succeeds Rodney should go with the whole Fleet, the French and Spaniards may do Mischief in the West Indies in the meantime.

It is supposed, that Carleton has orders to make Propositions to Congress but what can they be? Reconciliation, Seperate Peace, even upon an express Acknowledgement of our Independence, can never be thought of. We must keep our faith and not violate our Treaties. it is whispered too that the Garrisons of N. York and Charlestown are to be removed to Rhode Island, which is to be fortified as a Place of Arms, etc. This Policy is beyond my Comprehension. There is but one sensible System for the English, and it is amazing to me, they dont see it, that is evacuate the United States and declare them by an Act of Parliament independent. Then, they might defend themselves better against France and Spain and other European Powers, would wish them success, and aid them by Negotiation to obtain more favourable Terms of Peace. But the present British Ministry have forced themselves into Power, partly by decrying the Capacity and Activity of the old Ministry and partly by Promises to the King and Nation that they had Address enough to make a seperate Peace with America and Holland. Both these Professions were false. They now appear to be so, and the Ministry know not what to do.

The present Ministry therefore, as I conjecture will languish

away the time undecided what to do, untill they become as unpopular as the past, unless the Parliament should be dissolved, and a new Election should give them a more decided Majority, ready to vote for American Independence, the Principles of the Armed Neutrality; Fisheries to France and Spain, Restitutions to Holland, Gibraltar and Minorca to Spain &c &c &c.

Thus it is that an Empire has, in a Frenzy, committed Suicide upon itself, almost as suddenly, as one of its Individuals could have swallowed a Pistol Bullet.

They have succeeded in propagating a general opinion in Europe that Peace will be soon made, and that their Stocks will rise after a Peace which opinions have actually raised them before the Peace, 5 or 6 Per Cent, by foreigners sending over considerable Sums to purchase in. if the Conferences for Peace should be broken off, the Stocks will fall again. Both sides will be loth to break off: but I really dont expect that any thing will come of them this year. My most profound Respects to your good Lady. Adieu.

[*No signature.*]

John Adams to James Warren

The Hague, *August* 19, 1782

My dear Sir, — There is now an Harmony so entire between France America and Holland, that I think Affairs must come to a good Conclusion. if they do not it will I am perswaded be our Fault. But I am determined it shall not be mine, and I dont believe it will be Mr. Jay's.

Spain is now inclined to make a Treaty with Us, as I am informed, and the Comte d'Aranda is authorized to treat with him at Paris. This however, must not be made publick tho it may be communicated in Confidence. Mr. Dana seems weary, and I dont wonder. You have no Conception of the Torments that Mr. Jay and he and I have endured.

However the Foundations of great Things are never laid without Patience and long suffering.

Shelburne and Fox have split upon a nice Point and the lat-

ter hass hewn himself I think a profound Statesman: the later [former] a selfish, and equivocal Character. He must come finally and with an ill Grace to the Idea of the other, or he will put the last hand to the ruin of that Country.

The Plan seems to be now to agree if they can upon some, Preliminaries at Paris and then have a Congress to settle the Treaty, after discussing every Thing.

If Gibraltar falls and the English have no signal Sucess, the national Discouragement will increase, so as to force a Peace perhaps. if they relieve Gibraltar, which will be very hazardous, if they have good News from the East Indies, and especially if they have any naval Advantages they will struggle for another Campaign or two. Naval Victories intoxicate them to Frenzy. But these are but Drams to a Man in an Hectick. If there should be serious Negotiations for Peace, We shall have many Ugly Questions to debate. I dont intend to be answerable for any bad decision of them, but I cannot answer that they will not be badly decided. Canada, Nova Scotia, Boundaries, Tories, Fisheries, are Bones to pick. But the Pretensions of France, Spain and Holland will not be more easily adjusted, nor the Pretensions of Neutrals, in short the Field is so vast, and the objects of such Magnitude, that the first Glance of the Eye affrightens one, but I have looked at it so long that it has lost its Terror to me. Why should one be anxious, it is easy for a Man to do his Duty. He always has this in his Power and this is as much as he ought to have.

I hope Mrs. Warren will give my Dutch Negotiation a Place in her History. it is one of the most extraordinary, in all the diplomatic Records. But it has succeeded to a Marvel. Adieu.[1]

[*No signature.*]

1 A letter from John Adams to James Warren, September 6, 1782, is in *Writings of John Adams*, IX. 513.

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *Octr.* 7th, 1782

MY DEAR SIR, — Your Letters of the 17th June and 2d of July have given me great pleasure, perhaps more, because they were unexpected. A Spirit of Jealousy, founded on a long Intermission, had made me suppose you had totally forgot me, and never intended again to write a single Line. I hope the reasons you give for so long silence are by the fine Air of The Hague and by Exercise removed and that I shall again frequently hear from you in this way. one thing you may be assured of, that you cannot write to a more sincere and determined Friend. I like my new Allies the Dutch very well, and when my Imagination roves into futurity, and speculates and combines, I can suppose they may do us as much real service as some others, and from Motives quite as disinterested; and I like the Alliance perhaps the better because it has been formed by an Independent Statesman in spite of the false politics of his own Country and the designing politics of others. and I trust he will be regarded even by the present Generation, in spite of the rascally Venality or Envy of those who from their Exalted Stations have a greater Opportunity of doing him Justice. But, my Friend, the divine Science of Politics is composed of the same Materials here as in Europe. there is, indeed, something exceedingly singular in your Country. None ever ran with more rapid strides or was more distinguished by its virtue and public spirit, and no Country ever Catched the Vices of others and degenerated so fast. I will not prevent your singing or laughing by Attempting a description or saying more on this Subject. I wish for Peace, but what kind of one must we have had, if it had been made this Year? I wish to see you return to our Hills. I shall certainly take pleasure in roving with you among the Partridges, Squirrels, etc., and will even venture upon an Emulation with you which shall make his Hill shine the brightest, tho' I conceive I should fail in the Attempt. I expect, notwithstanding all your great Engagement and the great Game you have to Play, the Splendor of Courts and the Entertainments of Princes and Princesses, that you will bring with you great Improvements

in the delightful Science of Husbandry. do ascertain what Marle is that we may know whether we have it here or not. I can tell you no news but what you will have more directly from other hands. they may tell you how our Constitution operates in practice, how our Executive support their dignity and how our Legislature preserve their Independence. I am quite a private Man, a distant Spectator that sees but little, enough, however, to feel some disgust, detestation and Contempt. The Papers will shew you in what manner Mr. Temple is persecuted here and his defence. this matter has formed Considerable Parties and I think Temple gains Ground fast. I need not tell you that your Family are well. You will undoubtedly hear from them by this Opportunity. I am your Friend.

[*No signature.*]

The Muse, Mrs. W., wishes you Health and Happiness. I beg your Care of the Inclosed. it contains one for my Son, I wish to go safely, and am told there is no dependence on the common Post form Amsterdam to France.

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *October* 24th, 1782

SIR,— Many Months have Elapsed and many Great Events have taken place since I took up my pen to address you, among which few are more important to this Country than the Dutch Negotiation, and perhaps None have been attended with Greater Difficulties and none more Replete with Honour to the prime actors than this. Yet I should not have Ventured to pass my Censure on its opposers, or to Give sanction to the Measure by a full approbation of the spirit and Dignity which has brought it to a Completion, had I not been repeatedly called upon in the late Letters to your FRIEND, a Friend who, though now a private Gentleman, is not less Attentive to the Interest of the public, nor less Attached to the Minister at the Hague than when you both, stimulated by the Noblest Motives, of patriotism, and bound by

the strong ties of Mutual Friendship, Nursed the Embrio of opposition, Discussed the Nature of Government and Formed the plans of Revolution by the social Fire side at Plimouth. But the Enthusiasm of Poetry has Languished under the hand of Time: and the Muse Grown too timid amidst the Noise of War to attempt an Elogium on the Virtues of patience, perseverance and patriotism, Though the sterling Worth of those Capital Virtues have been tryed in the Fiery Furnace of Intrigue, Deception and ingratitude.

But the Historian must be very Negligent of Fame who is not ambitious that all the *Extraordinary* Transactions in the *Diplomatic* system should stand Conspicuous in his Work. But when the poignancy of sarcasm is strongly felt by the too susceptable Hearts, some little thirst of revenge will arise in the most Good Naturd of the Human Race. nor is any office so illustrious, or any character so sacred, but he must submit if he provokes the threatenings Even to the Menaces of a Woman. He will not find himself secure though hid in the pallaces of princes, or shielded by the stronger Bulwark of his own integrity. therefore Depend upon it a Blank shall be left in *Certain* annals for your *Dutch Negotiation*, unless you Condescend to furnish with your own Hand a few more Authentic Documents to Adorn the Interesting Page.

If the Refinements of the European World has Wrought the *Divine science* of Politics into a Mechanical system, composed of all the Foperies of Life, be assured, sir, America is not a Century behind them in Taste. You will not therefore be surprized when told that the test of Merit is Wealth: And that every thing which is Lucrative is Honorable in this Country. But as Mankind in all ages are governed Less by Reason than Opinion, it may again become Fashionable to be Virtuous and the Man be more Respected for the Probaty of his Heart than for the Trapings of his Horses. But as the Morals of a people Depend more on the Genius of their Rulers than the Mode of Government, the leading Characters among us do not at present promise such a Happy Revolution in Manners. And so little prospect of success is there to the struggles of the uncorrupted few, that I do not find myself quite willing your much estemed Friend, Mr. Warren, who has

but just retired from the public Walks (sickened by the servility and weakness of Man and wearied with the unremiting Vigalence of Near twenty years in the Field of Politics) should again return to the *Embarased scene*. Yet Convinced of the Necessity of sending our *best men* to Congress, and knowing you deem it a point of the utmost importance, I dare not urge my Arguments against his repairing to Philadelphia to you. Were it prudent to transmit them beyond the Atlantic, some of them you would Acknowledge Weighty. Others you might place to the score of Female Timidity, Delicacy, or perhaps Pride.

What a Many Headed Monster is a Republic grafted on the Principles of Despotism. Nor is a sovereign without a Crown a Less Dangerous Annimal than the Monarch whose Brow is Graced with the splendor of a Diadem.

If any Expression in this appears like a Decay of public spirit in the Wane of Life, a Line from your pen might Revive the Languid torper, though not as the Rescript of a Minister but as the Admonishion of a Friend. . . .

As I have touched on the Domestic feelings, to which you are not insensible, I shall Mention a son, Dear to his parents and amiable in the Eyes of a Friend. has any part of his Conduct since in Europe rendered him *unworthy*, that Mr. Adams has Never once Named him in his long absence. if he has, your tenderness will still impose silence; if not, the Fluttering Hopes of a Mother will be strengthened in your Next Letter to one who subscribes with much Respect and unabating Esteem Your assured Friend and humble servant

M. Warren

James Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Milton, *Nov.* 1, 1782

My dear Sir, — I made my acknowledgments of the receipt of your favors of June 17 and July the 2d by Capt. Grinnall, who sailed for Amsterdam about a fortnight ago. Since which I have the pleasure of yours of August 19th with the Inclosed Pamphlet,

conveying a State of the origin and progress of the Treaty with Holland, an Event which will make a figure in History in Proportion to its Importance, when Justice will be done to the Integrity and Ability, the Zeal and Perseverance of him who negotiated it. All the Honest part of America do that now equal to his wishes; but there are others, and some of them in high Stations and great Confidence, who have been stunned and mortified at this Success, some of them, perhaps, Influenced by Envy and some by Interest. but you know all about it. I need not tell you that Foreigners of high rank and character would not believe it possible. That the mighty of this part of the Globe condemned the measures taken to effect it, and at last believed the accounts of the success of them with reluctance. I wish I could know your Ideas of our present domestic Situation; of men vested with Imperial powers and, what is as bad, furnished with sources of Corruption equal to a King of Britain; of the Sagacity of that Congress which has found Abilities and Integrity where the Congress in 1775 and '76, etc., would never have suspected they were to be found. but I quit a subject I hate to reflect upon. I have conceived a great Opinion of Mr. Jay. he has conducted, if I am well informed, with great dignity. I dont believe it will be your fault or his if matters do not conclude well. if I was to give you two Instructions, they should be very discretionary. I have some Conception what you and he and Mr. Dana have endured. I dont wonder if you are all weary. The Good Dr. is now appointed to negotiate with Sweden. no doubt he will succeed and add a new Plume to his Cap.

I wish Mr. Jay may make an advantageous Treaty with Spain. it will be no unfavorable Circumstance to have it done at Paris instead of Madrid, or any other place, or places where he has danced attendance on that Court. Great Expectations and fears are formed here upon the fate of Gibraltar. if it falls, we expect a Peace, if it does not, we expect at least another Campaign, but I hope we shall be prepared for either.

You have, indeed, a large Field before you. The Questions to be decided are numerous and Important, quite enough so without descending to the Trifling Consideration of the Tories; and can it be possible at this Time of day that the British Cabinet should

interest themselves in their favor. what would they do for them. surely they would not wish them to have Neponset Hill. they deserve Nothing. but if they must have anything, they can expect no more than the Money their Estates sold for, out of the respective Treasurys where it is lodged, and that I hope is more than they will ever get, at least till Britain pays for all the devastations made on the Estates of honest Men. Mrs. W. writes you by this Opportunity. Great Events must find a place in her History, especially when Impartiality and Friendship combine to Insert them. That you may enjoy Health and Happiness is the Prayer of your Friend

J. W.

Not a Word about the dear Commonwealth of M[assachusetts]. Yes. The first Magistrate is ——; the Executive Council is ——. The Legislature is in the Usual Stile, sometimes making wise Laws and sometimes not; however, constantly making New, or repealing old ones. The present Members of Congress elected are, Gerry, Osgood, S. Higginson, Gorham, Holton and J. W. I believe the last must stay at Home and cultivate his Farm.

Nov. 24th. The preceeding Letter was designed to go by the *Firebrand*, who slipd away unexpectedly and left that and many others for you behind. Other owners might have been complaisant enough at least to have taken Mrs. Adams', but even Fortune cannot change the Spots of the Beast, or alter the Skin of the Ethiopian. since she saild nothing worthy your Notice has taken place. The French Fleet are still here and not quite ready for Sea. The French Army is expected soon, in order to embark on Board the Fleet. Mr. Gorham and Dr. Holton set out for Congress in a few days. I suppose Higginson will refuse and I am uncertain whether Gerry will go.

ARTHUR LEE TO JAMES WARREN

IN CONGRESS, *Decr.* 12th, 1782

DEAR SIR, — I enclose you three Newspapers containing the Essays of Lucius, Valerius and Bellesarius which deserve your perusal and being represented in your Papers. Barney is arrivd with Dispatches. He left L'Orient the 17 Jany. He keeps strict silence and none of his Crew are allowd to come on shore. The Letters were all carried to Mr. Morris, from whom Congress have not yet receivd any intelligence. When his speculations are settled we shall be favord with the news. All these restraints upon public information and the engrossing all the Letters, are by his own orders, Congress knowing nothing of it; and I verily believe for the sole purpose of speculation. I was persuaded when his friends proposd the purchasing Barney's vessel and dispatching her under his direction, that it was for the same purpose. Thro' the whole war he has made his public trust subservient to his private Speculation, and has thereby become as rich as a Jew.

You wish to have some observations on the manners of this place. They are as little worthy of panygeric as an awkward imitation of the French can make them. Broke suddenly loose from the simplicity of quaker manners, dress and fashions and affecting the vanity, and nonsense, if nothing worse, of french parade, you may conceive they are more fit subjects of ridicule than of admiration. Mr. Morris, Mr. Bingham,[1] Mr. Ross,[2] and others, who have made large fortunes during this war, employ their wealth in a manner not very consistent with that unostentatious virtue which ought to animate our Infant republic. Extravagance, ostentation and dissipation distinguish what are calld the Ladies of the first rank. There are however exceptions, there being prudent, amiable and worthy persons of both Sexes. But the generality seem to be intoxicated with a sudden change of manners and unexpected elevation.

I had not time to finish this Letter, being occupyd by attending to the Dispatches. The preliminary Articles are well enough, but being conditiond on the conclusion of Peace with France, which

1 William Bingham (1751–1804). 2 John Ross (1726–1800).

seems to me not probable this year; we still remain dependent on the issue of this Campaign at least, which if very successful on the part of the Enemy may make them retract these conditions, and if ever so prosperous on the part of our Ally, we cannot hope for any thing better, as the latter seems more averse to our participation in the Fishery, and our possessing the western Country, than the English themselves are. We are placd in this uncomfortable situation, by the ambition of our Ally, And by the obligation our Alliance is supposd to have imposd upon us not to make Peace without their concurrence. My latest Letters give the most sanguine expectations of speedy peace. But from reasoning on all circumstances it appears to me at least very doubtful. I wish most sincerely that peace may take place, and give us an opportunity of arranging our governments and Finances and of paying our Debts.

I receivd the two Joes you was so good as to send me for interest; and am very much obligd to you for your attention to my Affairs. When peace will permit the travelling in the extreme parts of your State, and I am freed from Congress, I shall revisit you, and take a view of the Country where the grant to me may be located. In the mean time I trust to your goodness and care to have the location made as advantageously as possible.

Mr. J. Adams is so persuaded, that Peace is settled that he has desird leave to resign and return home. I am not of opinion that we can spare him yet. He and Mr. Jay have acted a spirited, independent, and therefore, in my judgment, a most laudable part; and will be necessary in Europe to counteract the treachery of old Franklin. I had drawn up a vote of thanks to Mr. Adams for the extraordinary Services he has renderd us in Holland; but upon sounding I found the jealousy which Dr. F's friends, after his example, entertain of any approbation bestowd upon another, being a censure upon him woud render the passage of it doubtful. It was therefore thought more prudent not to move it. There never I think existed a man more meanly envious and selfish than Dr. Franklin. The reason probably why it is not seen so as to make men dispise him is, that men in general listen much to professions, and look little to actions.

Mr. Adams has mentiond one mark of his tricking and selfish disposition. He obtaind a promise from Mr. Jay when at Madrid, to give his voice for appointing his Grandson W. T. Franklin, a young insignificant Boy as any in existence, to be Secretary to the Embassy for making Peace, who ought to be a person of consummate prudence, ability and worth. Upon this he appoints him to that office without consulting the other Commissioners. Thus while Govr. Franklin is planning our destruction in London, his father and Son, are entrusted with all our Secrets in Paris. If it shoud be said that the establishd character of the old man will justify such a confidence; the same cannot be urged in favor of the young one, who is yet to be tried and has no character at all.

I enclose you a Paper containing the preliminary Articles. With the most cordial remembrance of Mrs. Warren's politeness and very agreable conversation, I beg you will present to her my best respects. My Nephew T. Shippen is equally pleasd with the Society at Milton and desires his respects. Farewell.

A. Lee

John Adams to James Warren

Paris, *Decr.* 15, 1782

Dear Sir, — This goes with the Preliminary Treaty between the Crown of G. Britain and the United States of America. it is not to be in force untill France and Great Britain shall agree and sign. When this will be is not yet known. it is supposd that the principal Points remaining are Spanish or Dutch.

The great Interests of our Country in the West and in the East are secured, as well as her Independence. St Croix is the Boundary against Nova Scotia. The Fisheries are very safe, the Missisippi and Western Lands to the middle of the great Lakes, are as well secured to Us as they could be by England. All these Advantages would not have been obtained if we had litterally pursued our Instructions, the Necessity of departing from which in some degree will I hope be our Excuse.

The King of Sweden [1] is the first Power in Europe who has invited Us to an alliance, the Commissioners are arrived here, and the Treaty will be soon made. The other neutral Powers may possibly acknowledge our Independence all together. it is possible, that England herself may advise it, but this is no more than Conjecture. The K. of Sweden has inserted in his Commission an handsome Compliment to Us, says that he had a great desire to form a Connection with a People who had so well established their Independence, and by their Wisdom and Bravery so well deserved it.

England has been wise to be the third Power in Europe to acknowledge Us. Is it my Vanity which makes me believe that the Dutch Negotiation has wrought this mighty Reverse, and carried Us tryumphantly to the End of all our Wishes? without this, the War would have continued for years, and the House of Bourbon so pressed for Peace and We so dependent on them that We should have lost the Western Country and the Fisheries and very probably been left in a Truce, in a state of Poverty and Weakness, which would have made Us long the miserable Satellites of some great European Planet.

It is the Providence of God, not the good Will of England of France, nor yet the Wisdom and Firmness of Congress that has done this. To that Providence let Us with humble Gratitude and Adoration ascribe it. Without making an Ostentation of Piety upon the Occasion however, let us turn our Thoughts to what is future.

The Union of the States, an affectionate Respect and Attachment among all their Members, the Education of the rising Generation, the Formation of a national System of Oeconomy Policy, and Manners are the great Concerns which still lye before us. We must guard as much as Prudence will permit against the Contagion of European Manners, and that excessive Influx of Commerce Luxury and Inhabitants from abroad, which will soon embarrass Us. with great Esteem, your Friend,

[*No signature.*]

1 Gustavus III.

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

PARIS, *January* 29, 1783

MADAM, — Your Favour of the 25 of October never reached me till to day, but it has given me great Pleasure as your Letters always do. I was disappointed however in finding no Line from Mr. Warren except the Superscription of yours.

I assure you, Madam, what I said about certain Annals was no Sarcasm. I have the utmost Veneration for them, although I never was honoured with a Sight of any of them. Let me intreat you not to reserve any Place in them for the Dutch Negotiation, if you intend to celebrate my Patience. of all Virtues or Qualities I hate most to be praised for my Patience. I had rather you should immortalize my Impudence, for I rather think it was this quality, than the other which produced the Effect in Holland. I entered into the Seven United Provinces with as much Impudence, as I should have appeared in the 13 United States of America. As Johnny Morehead [1] said to Mr. Bollan,[2] "Mr. Such an one used, Sir, to come into my House with as much Impudence, as you would come into your own." If the word shocks you, Madam, call it modest Assurance, or honest Boldness, or almost what you will except Patience.

The Times, Madam have made a Strange Being of me. I shall appear a Domestic Animal, never at home, a bashfull Creature, braving the Fronts of the greatest ones of the Earth, a timid Man, venturing on a long Series of the greatest dangers, an irritable fiery Mortal, enduring every Provocation and Disgust, a delicate Valetudinarian bearing the greatest Hardships, an humble Farmer, dispising Pomp Shew Power and Wealth, as profuse as a Prodigal and as proud as Caesar — But an honest Man in all and to the Death.

Alas! who would wish for such a Character! Who would wish to live in Times and Circumstances when to be an honest Man, one must be all the rest? Not I. it can never be the Duty of one Man

1 Rev. John Morehead, a native of Belfast, Ireland, and pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Long Lane, now Federal Street, from 1730 to his death in 1773. He was of a quick temper.

2 William Bollan (1740–1774?).

to be concerned in more than one Revolution, and therefore I will never have any Thing to do with another.

But to be more to the Purpose. I sincerely hope my Friend Mr. Warren will go to Congress. I am astonished to learn that at a Time when a large Portion of the Massachusetts was at Stake and in question, and all their Fisheries there should be, but one Member attending the Great Wheel from that State.[1]

The Reflection, Mrs. Warren, that we are now at Peace after the Contests of one and twenty years, which you and I have been witnesses of, is sweet indeed. Those Qualities which through the Course of that Period have attracted the Attention and Confidence of the People, will now be little regarded. Content. They have answered their End, and may now be laid aside. Yet it is too soon for Mr. Warren or me to retire. Stability and Dignity must be given to the Laws, or our Labours have all been in vain and the old Hands must do this or it will not be done.

I hope to have the Pleasure of renewing old Acquaintances e'er long, and of being no stranger at the Blue Hills.

There is but one Case in which it is possible that I should stay in Europe another year, and that is that Congress should renew the Commission with which I came out to make a Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain. in that Case I should hope my Dr. Mrs. Adams would come to me. But there is not I think the least Probability of that, nor indeed do I desire it. The first and strongest Wish of my Heart is to go home to my Family. But in all Events The Mountain shall come to Mahomet or Mahomet shall go to the Mountain. My Family shall come to me or I will go to them. With the greatest Esteem and Respect, Madam, I have the Honour to be, your Frnd. and Sert.

John Adams

1 A paragraph has here been struck out, but in the Letter Book is left untouched. It read as follows: "I have never had an Opportunity, Madam, to see your Son since he has been in Europe, but once or twice at Amsterdam, and that before I had a House there. He has been travelling from Place to Place; and altho' I have often enquired after him, I have seldom been able to hear of him. I have heard nothing to his disadvantage, except a Shyness and Secrecy which, as it is uncommon in young Gentlemen of his Age and Education, is the more remarked, and a general Reputation which he brought with him from Boston of loving Play. But I have not been able to learn that he has indulged it improperly in Europe. But my Advice to him and every young American is and uniformly will be to stay in Europe but a little while."

ARTHUR LEE TO JAMES WARREN

IN CONGRESS, *Feby.* 19th, 1783

DEAR SIR, — Since I wrote to request you to send me a Certifyd Copy of the Resolve of the Assembly for granting me 600 Acres of Land; Mr. Gorham tells me that it has expird, and he believes was renewd. Whether it has or not, I still beg that I may have a Copy of the first resolution, for it is that I want. If however it shoud have expird, you will permit me to beg your attention to having it renewd upon the best terms which your knowledge of the subject may suggest.

I cannot but hope that Peace is near, and yet it seems extraordinary that neither Congress, the french Minister, nor Genl. Carleton has any intelligence on the subject. As to the neglect with which Congress is treated, that is neither new nor undeservd; but that all other sources of official intelligence upon a matter so very interesting and important, shoud be equally dry, is astonishing.

The mode of settling the Quotas of the States, and of establishing funds for the payment of our debts are questions now before Congress. I wish we had your assistance in discussing them. The Confederation is a stumbling block to those who wish to introduce new, and I think arbitrary systems. The vanity of being wiser than others, and of being able to amend whatever is already done, enlists many under this banner, who do not mean any thing undue. But these Dispositions are often moulded to their measures by artful men, and others without intending it, are made to minister to their pernicious purposes. . . .

ARTHUR LEE

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

Confidential. PARIS, *March* 20th, 1783

SIR, — I was in hopes that the Peace would have put Us at ease, but it has not as yet much diminished our Anxiety. The long interval, in which we have not been able to obtain any Intelligence

from America, either by the way of Spain, France, Holland or England — the unsettled State of Parties and Councils in London, where there has been no responsible Minister this fortnight at least — the delay of the definitive Treaty, which it is now given out will not be signed for some time, as there is to be a Congress and a Mediation here — and many other Causes, leave us in a painful state of Suspence and Solicitude.

The Revocation of the Commission to make a Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain,[1] without issuing another, appears in Experience to be one of the most unfortunate measures, which Congress ever adopted. My Lord Shelburne and his Colleagues had been convinced by various Arguments, that it was the Interest and best Policy of the British Nation to cultivate the Friendship of America, and to allow her the amplest advantages in Trade; and the Voice of the Nation was falling in with this Principle: so that if there had been a Commission in being we should have had a provisional Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain, signed at the same time with the provisional Articles of Peace. But now there is great danger, that a new Ministry will come in, tainted with Passions, Prejudices and Principles as unfriendly to Us, as they are contracted in their Nature. If any portion of foreign Influence contributed to the Revocation in question, the same will undoubtedly be employed in England; for it insinuates itself every where to embroil Affairs there, and to prevent if possible a friendly Disposition towards Us from prevailing. Can We blame this Influence? We ought only to blame ourselves for giving way to it. It is not founded in our Interests, nor in any Interests that We are under any Obligations to favor. We are under no Ties of Honor, Conscience or good Faith, nor of Policy, Gratitude or Politeness, to sacrifice any profits which We can obtain in Trade with Great Britain, merely to promote the Trade of France. It is of the last Importance to Us in a political Light, that our Commerce should be impartial in future, and be drawn to no Country by any other Attraction than the best Bargains. The Price and Quality of Goods should be our only Criterion. Let the Rivalry of our Trade

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xx. 746. See Adams to Livingston, February 5, 1783, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence* (Wharton), vi. 242.

be free and unrestrained. Let Nations contend which shall furnish Us the best Goods at the cheapest Rate, and Detur digniori.

This is the only principle, which can warrant Us from too close an Attachment to one Scale in the Ballance of Europe, which will excite Jealousies in the other. Gentlemen can never be too often requested to recollect the Debates in Congress in the Years 1775 and 1776, when the Treaty with France was first in Contemplation. The Nature of those Connections, which ought to be formed between America and Europe, will never be better understood than they were at that time. It was then said, there is a Ballance of Power in Europe. Nature has formed it. Practice and Habit have confirmed it, and it must forever exist. It may be disturbed for a time, by the accidental Removal of a Weight from one Scale to the other; but there will be a continual Effort to restore the Equilibrium. The Powers of Europe now think Great Britain too powerful. They will see her Power diminished with pleasure. But they cannot see Us throw ourselves headlong into the Scale of Bourbon without Jealousy and Terror. We must therefore give no exclusive priviledges in Trade to the House of Bourbon. If We give exclusive priviledges in Trade, or form perpetual Alliances offensive and defensive with the Powers in one Scale, We infallibly make Enemies of those in the other, and some of these at least will declare War in favor of Great Britain. Congress adopted these Principles and this System in its purity, and by their Wisdom have succeeded most perfectly in preventing every Power in the World from taking Part against them. I hope I shall not give offence, if I humbly request Congress to take a review of the original Report of the Committee, which I think I remember very well as it is in my handwriting, and of the Alterations made in it, after debating it paragraph by paragraph in Congress.[1] Compare the Plan of a Treaty, which was sent over by Dr. Franklin, with the Treaty as it was signed and remark in how many particulars the distresses of our Affairs have compelled Us to depart from the purity of our first Principle. It is most certain We have now no Motive to depart farther from it. One principal Duty of our Ministers abroad should have been to keep the several Courts informed that this

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, v. 576.

was our System, which would have greatly facilitated and accelerated the progress of our Cause in Europe. But the Instructions, with which those Ministers have been bound, and the artful Obstructions thrown in their way, have rendered them much less useful than they might have been.

I am very sorry to say, but my Duty obliges me to say, that in my poor Opinion our foreign Affairs have been very ill conducted.

Had I been permitted, on my Arrival in Paris in 1780, to open a Negociation with the British Ministry, if it had only been so far as to communicate to them, and if they had neglected to take Notice, to the Nation, Copies of my Commission to make Peace and a Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain — Had Mr. Dana been permitted to communicate his Commission to the Ministers of the several Courts to which he is destined — Had Mr. Jay, Mr. Dana and myself been encouraged and countenanced as We ought to have been, instead of being opposed, obstructed, neglected and slighted, as We have been in our several Departments, many thousands of Lives would have been saved, many Millions of Money, and the War would have come to a Conclusion much sooner, upon Terms quite as advantageous to America, more equitable to Holland, and more glorious for France. I must and do most solemnly deliver it as my Opinion, that French Policy has obstructed the progress of our Cause in Europe, more than British. It is high time that We should be upon our Guard, and not mistake Evil for Good.

Mr. Marbois [1] has not been alone in his Idea, "*that the independent Party will always stand in great Want of our Support*," nor in his Endeavors to keep the independent Party always in want of such Support.

Every Step, which our Negociations advanced in Europe, diminished this "Want of Support." It was a Crime in me to wish to do something in Holland to render Us less dependent on France, as it was in Mr. Samuel Adams to toast, "May the United States ever maintain their Right to the Fisheries."

But I venture to say, the Authors of this shackling and clipping System, this enfeebling and impoverishing Plan, have been very

1 François Barbé-Marbois (1745–1837).

bad French Politicians. They have been ignorant of America, the Character of her people and her Resources. They must reform their Policy, or their Master and his Country will have Cause to repent it. They must change their System; and the sooner they are plainly and honestly told so, the better. The United States of America are not a Power to be trifled with. There has been too much trifling in many Respects.

There are Intimations of a Desire of Commercial Treaties and Connections at present in various Parts of Europe. The United States have been admitted to dance amongst the proudest Powers of Europe at a Masquerade Ball at the Court of Turin, and Portugal has acknowledged their Independence by the Act inclosed.

With great Respect and Esteem, I have the Honour to be Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant.

John Adams

General Warren.[1]

John Adams to James Warren

Confidential. Paris, *March* 21st, 1783

Sir, — The Situation of things in England cannot be too much attended to at this time. The whimsical State of Parties; the Anarchy in Government and the Confusion of Opinions among the People, have been occasioned in a great Measure by the want of an American Commission to make a Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain. It is this that has brought all things to a Stand. The Merchants and Manufacturers know not what to do, nor what they can depend upon. Had a provisional Treaty of Commerce accompanied the provisional Treaty of the 30th of November, the Nation would have been so decidedly satisfied with the Peace, that Mr. Fox and my Lord North would never have been able to have obtained a Vote of the House of Commons, that the Peace was inadequate. The critical Moment for obtaining the best possible Treaty of Commerce, I very much fear, is lost forever.

1 This letter, as the contents indicate, was originally written to the President of Congress, but the destination was afterwards changed and Warren made the recipient.

The true secret Motive of this Peace, was the precarious Situation of the Ministers who made it. I mean the Earl of Shelburne and the C. de Vergennes.[1] The Earl's Continuance in Office certainly depended upon his making Peace, at least a provisional one with America. And I knew, perhaps better than my Colleagues, that after the Signature of the provisional Treaty, the Comte's Continuance in Office depended too upon the Peace. I am commanded by Congress to write the Characters of Ministers, and I must obey. There are Commis and Deputy Commis in the Office of Interpreters, or some other Scribblers, who employ themselves incessantly in filling all the Gazettes of Europe with pompous Panegyricks of this Minister, and sublime Ideas of his Power and Credit, as well as his Abilities. But this is mere Puff and Bubble. He has long Experience in Courts, and is adroit enough in ordinary Business, but is by no means a great Minister. He has neither the extensive knowledge nor the Foresight, nor the Wisdom, nor the Virtue, nor the Temper of a great Man. His Politicks are disturbed by little Passions, weak Prejudices and unworthy Tricks, in every Step of their Progress. Not having those great Abilities and that decided Character, which command Respect, he has not the Advantage of high Birth and Nobility, which in this Country might serve as a Substitute for them. The Queen is not his Friend. He has not given that Satisfaction to Spain, which is pretended, and he has disgusted Holland. And if America has any Regard to the Character of her Ministers, to her Fisheries or her Western Lands, he has given Cause enough of Disgust to America. Feeling his Weakness and his Danger, he has united himself to De Fleury,[2] to whom the French don't scruple to give very hard Names. By Means of this Comptroller of Finances, whose Reputation here is very bad, and the Chancellor, he has obtained a Feather in placing himself at the Head of the Council of Finances, which has been trumpetted as the Place of Monsieur de Maurepas, but it is not. Mr. de Maurepas [3] was President of the Conseil de Roi, a very different Place from this, which is

1 Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes (1717–1787).

2 Jean François Joly de Fleury (1718–1802), hero of the song: "Si c'est du fleuri, ce n'est pas du joli."

3 Jean Frédéric Phelippeaux, comte de Maurepas (1701–1781).

merely a nominal thing. He will not suffer the Baron de Breteuil [1] to come from Vienna, from a Jealousy of him. And it has been given to me as a serious Opinion by Noblemen of great Consideration, among the rest, by one who is dear to America, that he will not stand his Ground very long — some say not six Months. If there is Truth in this Representation, and I verily believe it to be literally true, Congress will easily see, that if the Comte had not made Peace, after the Signature of the provisional Treaty, he would not have been able to stand the Clamour. The Fact was, there was a great Cry against him. You heard in all Companies: "He has done wrong. There should have been a Congress of Ministers of all the Powers at War. The Ministers of France, Spain, England, Holland and the United States, should have all assembled in one Room and discussed the whole Peace in presence of each other, and all signed together. Instead of that, he sends Rayneval and his Son to London, communicates nothing to the American Ministers, nothing to the Dutch Ministers, and leaves the Americans to sign first; whereby England was at liberty to turn her whole Force against France and Spain. The Americans have done right, but the Comte has cheated himself." This was the language of France, and Congress may easily see by it, that the Comte's Continuance in Office, after this faux pas, depended upon his making a Peace. He felt it, and accordingly hastened it to a Conclusion so suddenly, as to violate his Promises solemnly made and often repeated to the Dutch Minister.

The Baron Breteuil, Ambassador at Vienna, is of high Birth and numerous noble Connections, and very rich. He has a Son, to whom the Duchess de Polignac has a desire to marry her Daughter. Breteuil desires to enter into the Ministry, or to be Intendant of Bretagne. But the Comte has hitherto refused to let him come home, because he dreads him. It is now said, however, that Orders are gone to him to come to France. And it is ardently to be wished, that Breteuil or some other Minister may take the Place of Vergennes. There cannot be a worse in my Opinion for America. He has meant Us too much Evil; is too conscious of it and too sensible that We know it; and he has been

1 Louis Auguste le Tonnelier, baron de Breteuil (1733–1807).

too cleverly defeated in some of his ill Intentions, ever to be our Friend.

It is not easy to explain the Motives of a little Mind, which has no fixed Principle of Action. It is not easy to assign the Reason of his long continued Rancour against our Rights to the Fisheries and the Western Lands — against our obtaining Loans or Subsidies from the King sufficiently noble and ample to have established our Credit, and to have enabled Us to strike an effectual Blow against New York — against our having an effectual Assistance of Men of War, and against the Progress of our Negociations in Europe.

He is incapable of any Sentiment so patriotic, as to do all this to keep Us dependent upon France, that She might avail herself of our Weight and our Commerce. He wished to keep Us dependent, that he might have Us in his own Power, that he might have the miserable Gloriole of being the Pacificateur of Europe, of having America, Holland, Spain and France in his Pocket, That he might be made a Grandee of Spain, and obtain a Reputation imposing enough to secure him his Place.

That he has pursued the Design for many Years of manœuvring Us out of our Fisheries and Western Territories, is past all doubt. Mr. Gerard, who was a faithful Representative of him, betrayed such a Design when he was at Philadelphia. Mr. Marbois, who is, I am very sorry to see, too faithful a Representative of him, has pursued the same Design. Mr. Rayneval,[1] who is another of his Images, has held the same Language, and the Comte himself has held it too. His Attack upon me in his Letters to Dr. Franklin, which the Dr. was left to transmit to Congress without informing me, was an Attack upon the Fishery and Western Country. Franklin's Motive was to get my Commission, and Vergennes's Motive was to get it for him. Not that he loved Franklin more than me, but because he knew Franklin would be more obsequious. The Pretence, that I had given Offence, was a mere Fiction. Such an invention they knew would be most likely to intimidate Members of Congress, and carry their Point. I repeat it, it was not true that I had given Offence. To suppose that I had, is to suppose him the most senseless Despot that ever existed. The Secret

1 Joseph Matthias Gérard de Rayneval (1746–1812).

was, that I was known to be too much attached to the Western Countries and the Fisheries, and to be a Man, who would neither be decieved, wheedled, flattered, or intimidated into a Surrender of them. Franklin he knew would let him do as he pleased, and assist him in inventing an Excuse for it.

I cannot account for his Enmity to Us, but by supposing an Affectation of a Reputation of great Foresight. He affected to foresee, that We should suddenly become a great Nation, very rich and powerful — so powerful, as to be independent and keep ourselves neutral in a future War. He thought by crippling Us, he could keep Us dependent and oblige Us to join France in a future War against England. He thought too, that by getting America, Holland and Spain wholly into his Power, he could make the Peace as he pleased, and thus oblige every one to acknowledge him as its Guardian, and trumpet his Fame so high, as to make the Nation forget who he was and is, and oblige the King to continue him in Power. But he has been vastly disappointed. And the Truth is, that the American Ministers made the Peace in spight of him, let his hireling Trumpetters say what they will.

It may not however be of any very great Importance to Us, who is the Minister here. Let who will be the Minister, We must be jealous of him, and trust him no farther than We see him. Every humiliating Instruction to your Ministers in Europe must be repealed, and they must see with their own Eyes. We must preserve a good Understanding with France, and the King and the Nation are well disposed to it. But we shall never preserve their Friendship, unless We take Care of their Ministers. We must not send our Army to Capua. We must cherish our Militia in every State, keep ourselves prepared for whatever may happen. This is the Way to preserve and improve the Peace. We can have no Dependance upon England, whose People are still capable of horrid Deeds; if they had the Power. They have no sincere Friendship for the United States, altho' they are willing to acquiesce in the Peace, and avail themselves of our Commerce. They are humbled, in appearance at least, feel their real Situation and have left off their vain Boastings. But there is Cause to suspect, that they are confounded rather than humbled, and that they have

not sincerely repented of their past Conduct. A Correspondent of mine says, They are in a State of political Reprobation — "of Hell or Heaven, of Liberty or Slavery they reck not."

As the Courtiers still entertain their old Malice against Us, it is not probable, that the true Interest of the Nation will be immediately and steadily pursued. But as Shelburne pursued for a long time an oscillating kind of Policy to the Disgrace and Loss of the Nation, it will now require so much time to get rid of old Prejudices in Commercial Matters, that its Rivals will get the Start.

If the Duke of Portland,[1] Ld. John Cavendish,[2] Mr. Fox, etca. are now in Power, this Administration cannot last long, and I fear they will not understand so well as Shelburne the true System towards America. Administration will fluctuate for some time, and there are terrible Symptoms of bloody Contests, which will drive Multitudes to America, but will weaken and ruin that Island more completely, than it is our Interest, or that of Mankind perhaps, to wish.

The annual Interest of their Debt added to the Expences of Government exceed by several Millions all their Revenues, an horrid Truth which presents the Prospect at least of a partial Bankruptcy; and this alone, without any other Commotion, will drive great Numbers to our Country.

It is our Business to render our Country an Asylum, worthy to receive all who may wish to fly to it. This can only be done, by rendering the Minds of the People really independent. By guarding them against the Introduction of Luxury and Effeminacy, By watching over the Education of Youth, By keeping out Vices and cultivating Virtues, By improving our Militia, and by forming a Navy. These alone can compose a Rock of Defence. Without these, Alliances will be a Snare. With them, We may have what Alliances We please, and none but such as we chuse. With great Esteem and Respect, I have the Honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant

JOHN ADAMS[3]

1 William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Duke of Portland (1738–1809). 2 (1732–1796).
3 Only the word "confidential" at the opening of this letter, the closing "With great Esteem" etc. and the name of General Warren are in John Adams' handwriting. See note to letter of March 20, 1783.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO JAMES WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 5, 1783

DEAR SIR, — Congress have referred to the several States, the propriety of repealing part of our present confederation, and of establishing new principles, for apportioning the Debts of the United States.

When questions, of such importance as these, are to be agitated, it is no less the duty, than the interest, of every citizen, to offer his own sentiments, on the propositions. I shall therefore, with freedom, and as concisely as possible, offer you mine, agreeably to my promise, made in my letter of the second instant.

The questions, to be considered, are whether that part of the confederation, shall be repealed, which directs, that the expences of the United States, shall be borne by the several States, according to the value of their located lands, and buildings; and whether a new system, shall be substituted, which provides, that the proportion of each State, shall be ascertained, by the number of their white inhabitants, added to three-fifths of their black inhabitants. Did the substitution recommended, include the whole number of souls in each State, and direct them all to be brought into the estimation, I should not hesitate to adopt it, and should consent to the repeal most readily, not because I think the scheme a perfect one, but because, I think it preferable, to the one pointed out by the confederation, and that it is the best we can now obtain.

The only question with me, at present is, whether there shall be a deduction from the numbers in any State, merely because the complexions of part [of] the inhabitants, of some of the States, are different, from those of the inhabitants of others.

The reason why we do not apportion, the public debts, on the several States equally, is because, each State, has not equal abilities, to pay a like sum; this brings us to the necessity, of enquiring into, and of ascertaining, the abilities of the several States, that we may know what proportion, each can pay, so that all the inhabitants, of the United States, shall bear their just proportion of the common burden.

In order, that I may give you my sentiments on the questions,

in as clear a manner as possible, I shall suggest some general principles, which I think will be admitted as true, and that they are the basis on which, a determination of the present questions, must rest.

A people may always be estimated rich, when a great proportion of their inhabitants are laborers, for it will not be controverted, that by the hand of the laborer, the State is supported; when from the richness of the soil, and from the clemency of their seasons, a sufficiency, for the support of their inhabitants, is produced, by a small proportion of that labor; When the surplus, affords a valuable and important article for exportation; and when, from the mildness of the climate, little clothing is necessary, and the labors of the summer, are not consumed, by providing subsistence for the winter.

I suppose that it will not be denied, by any, that a people thus circumstanced, will be rich, if they are not wanting to themselves, and that, if the value of such means of wealth, could with exactness be ascertained, we should have good documents, by which, we might form a system, for apportioning the public debts, that would do equal right to all. On this belief I shall ground my present observations on the subject.

I say all the blacks, in the southern States, should be numbered, and brought into the estimation, Because a greater proportion of them are laborers, than are among the same number of people, in the Northern States. In the southern, there are in these respects, no distinction of sex, the mother with her babe is as many hours in the field, and has an equal task assigned her, with her husband, and if she, being thus incumbred, is unable to perform it, he is obliged to compleat it, in addition to his own. Because from the nature and richness of the soil, which is easy of culture, the same quantity of labor, for the support of an individual, is not necessary in the Southern States, as in the northern, where the soil is stiff, the lands stoney, and are with difficulty cultivated. Because in the southern States, they have a large surplus of beef and pork, which make a very valuable article of exportation. To obtain this they are at little or no expence, for their cattle and swine roam at large and from the growths of the forests, (such being the tempera-

ture of the climate,) their spontaneous productions, are sufficient to feed them, summer and winter, without any attention of the laborer, and no cost is incurred, in fencing and clearing the lands, on which these are raised. While in the Northern States all the cattle and swine are fed five months in a year from food provided for them in the summer and at all times from the groath of land, which to clear and fence involves the owner in a very great expence and after all our care the surplus of beef and pork for exportation is very inconsiderable. Because the surplus, provided by the labors of the Southern States, of articles of exportation, far exceed, in quantity and value the surplus procured by the labors in the Northern States, where a great part of their time is spent, in laying in necessaries for the winter, in which, little business is performed. Because, food not so expensive in kind, and not in so great a quantity, is required by the laborers, in the Southern States, as is required by those in the Northern, there animal food cannot be dispensed with. Because in the Southern States, their seasons are so clement, that very little expence is necessary for clothing, and especially for the laborers, and to provide necessaries for the winter. In the Northern States, warm clothing must be had, and as I observed before, a great proportion of their time, is spent in the summer, in providing for the winter. Because, the laborer, from the best information I can obtain, in procuring the principal articles of export, can earn nearly double the sum, each day, to that which is earned, by our fishermen, in taking and curing fish, which are our cheif article of export.

These are among the reasons, which have induced me to say, that all the blacks, ought to be taken into the estimation. Indeed, I think, in consideration of the peculiar advantages, enjoyed by the Southern, which cannot be enjoyed by the Northern States, that the Southern, should take a greater proportion of the common debt than even this would give them.

Here I should drop the subject, was there any common arbiter, to decide among the United States, whose mind would not be swayed by interest nor his Judgment fettered by fear. We might with safety rely, on such a decision, as insuring to us, that justice, which to obtain, I see very little hope, under our present consti-

tution. But is there such an arbiter to be found, among all the Sons of the United States? I am convinced there is not. If then, there is little probability, that the most perfect justice can be obtained, and the very best method cannot be called into practice, while something must be done, which I think is our case, and the very great advances made by the Massachusetts makes it particularly necessary for her to have all our public accounts liquidated and apportioned on the several States, which I am confident would greatly relieve her from her present burdens, I think therefore, although she may be fully convinced, that the system proposed for her consideration and adoption, will not do her perfect justice; yet if she is convinced that it is the best which can be obtained, and that fewer evils will arise from her adopting than from her rejecting it, she will no doubt do the former.

To procure an estimate of all the located lands and buildings, in the several States, agreeably to the mode pointed out by the confederation, is a work of time, and we know, from long experience, by the operation of laws of this kind in our State, how little dependance can be placed, in such returns, when they are obtained.

If it is with difficulty that a just valuation can be procured and established in so small an extent of country as is our State, and where there are many of the inhabitants, who have a pretty good knowledge of the several parts of it, and can correct the errors, which always mark such returns; can we hope for a just one from the several States, and that an equal proportion can be settled by such returns, where we have no persons, who have such a knowledge of all the States, as will give them, any just pretentions, to a right, of correcting the several returns, from their own information. Besides, I am confident, should a just return be made, of all the buildings, and the full number of the acres of Land, in each State, yet I have not a doubt, but the different estimates of value put on them, by the several States, would be so unequal, that it would be a source of continual disputes, and a fountain, from which, unceasing dissentions would flow.

The real and estimated value of estates, are very different things, the first is determined by their produce, and the other by the sum they will sell for. We often find, that the produce of a

farm, after all the labors and expences are paid, is of more value, in the support of a family, than would be the interest of the money, arising from the capital the farm would fetch. So on the other hand, we some times see lands, from their local situation, and the number of purchasers, sell for a sum, the common interest of which, will far exceed in value, the neat income of the Land. The real value of an estate, taken for the apportionment of taxes, should be estimated by its produce, not by the sum, which the possessor may have given for it; for, from the produce, are the taxes to be paid, they should therefore be proportioned thereby.

It is from the want of this system, in the Massachusetts, that all the lands in the first settled part of the State, and near the Sea, pay a much greater tax than lands do which have been more lately settled, though their produce is equal.

Was the value of lands, always determined by the value of their produce, we should be freed from a repetition of the evils, we have experienced in our State, from the want of this attention, and should have no apprehensions, of an unequal apportionment, of the debt of the United States, made on the letter of the confederation — letter I say because, I think if the spirit was attended to, we should have a return of what I before called, the real value of the States; But this we may not expect, the located lands and Buildings, will be estimated, at what they will sell for, an apportionment, on such an estimate, will saddle the Northern States, with an unequal proportion, of the public debts. Because lands, in an old and well settled country, will sell for more money, than lands, which will yield an equal produce, will sell for, in a new one, this we are taught by every day experience.

Though, I think the w[hole] number of inhabitants, should come into consideration, yet as that cannot be obtained, I think fewer evils will be experienced, by adopting the proposed System, than will be suffered, should it be rejected.

Thus my dear Sir, I have in as few words as possible, given you my ideas, on a subject, interesting in its nature, and on the speedy settlement of which, much depends.

I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, with great esteem your obedient humble Servant, B. Lincoln

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN ADAMS MSS.

PARIS, *April* 9, 1783

DEAR SIR, — I hope this will find you in Congress, supporting your Country and her Friends, where you ought to have been many years past. For want of a few more hands of your Stamp at the great Wheel, we poor Creatures are trembling here under a fearful looking for of Judgment and fiery Indignation from Philadelphia.

It is utterly inconceivable how Congress can have been deceived into such Instructions as they gave us, which without all Controversy would have ruined our Country, if they had been obeyed. Those Instructions put some of our essential Interests into the Power of the worst Enemy of those Interests.

Great Britain is in a State that is undefinable — Unable for many Weeks to form any Administration at all. the King is now reported to have made a Combination so whimsical that it cannot be expected to last, if it can operate at all. It must be divided in Sentiment upon every material Question. The Distress for Grain, the Poverty of the Treasury, the Weakness of public Credit, the Weight of Taxes, the general Discontents and Animosities, and the Danger, if not the Certainty of a publick Bankruptcy, at least in part, threaten that devoted Country with Calamities of which no Man can foresee the End.

You are threatened with an Inondation of Emigrants from all Parts of Europe. But there will not be such an Appearance as is talked of. It is not so easy for Men to change Countries. If you were to listen to the Conversation in private Circles, or in Coffee Houses, or to the Paragraphs in the Gazettes, you would think that all Europe was about to empty itself into America; but after all the Number of Emigrants will be small.

I am in Expectation every hour of recieving your Acceptance of my Resignation, and indeed I stand in need of it. The Scenes of Gloom, Danger and Perplexity I have gone thro', by Sea and Land, and the Shocks of various Climates, have affected my Health to a great degree, and, what is worse, my Spirits. Firm as some People have been complaisant enough to suppose my Temper is, I assure

you it has been shaken to its foundations, and more by the fluctuating Councils of Philadelphia, than by anything else. When a Man sees entrusted to him the most essential Interests of his Country, sees that they depend essentially upon him, and that he must defend them against the Malice of Enemies, the Finesse of Allies, the Treachery of a Colleague, and sees that he is not to be supported even by his Employers, you may well imagine a Man does not sleep on a Bed of Roses. It is enough to poison the Life of a Man in its most secret Sources.

The Fever, which I had at Amsterdam, which held me for five days hiccoughing and senseless over the Grave, exhausted me in such a Manner that I never have been able to recover from it entirely. I have rode and walked and exercised incessantly now for a Year and three Quarters, and have lived in all Respects with great Caution, but all does not do. I have Weaknesses of Mind and Body, to which I have been all my Life before a Stranger. But I am not yet however so weak as to stay in Europe with a Wound upon my Honour, and if I had the Health of Hercules, I would go home, Leave or no Leave, the Moment another Person is appointed to Great Britain. No fooling in such a March. I will not be horse jockeyed. At least, if I am, De Vergennes and Franklin shall not be the Jockies.

It is not that I am ambitious of the Honour of a Commission to St. James's, or that I fondly expect a happy Life there. I could be happier I believe at The Hague. But my Enemies, because they are Enemies or Despisers of the Interests of my Country, shall never have such a Triumph over me. I should think myself forever unworthy of the Confidence of Congress, or of any other Body possessed of Sense or Spirit, if I did. In Truth I sigh for Repose. My Family has become an indispensible Necessary of Life to me. I am no longer a Boy, nor a young Man, and there is no Employment however honorable, no Course of Life however brilliant, has such a Lustre in my Imagination as absolutely a private Life. My Farm and my Family glitter before my Eyes every Day and Night.

You may well imagine that I shall not be beloved in London. I have been, as you know, too old and atrocious an Offender not

to have Millions of Enemies there. You know, too, that I have acted too daring and decided a Part in France and Holland, as well as in America, not to have numerous Enemies and powerful ones too in all those Countries. The Peace does not open to me in public Life Prospects of Glory and Triumph and Power and Wealth, that can flatter or excite Ambition or Avarice in me.

I knew very well for many Years before I engaged in publick, that if I ever should engage, whatever Dangers I might brave, whatever Losses I might suffer, and whatever Successes I might have, Rewards and Fortunes were never made for me nor mine; that the utmost I could ever expect would be a comfortable or even a tolerable old Age. For this I would gladly now compound. At home I might enjoy it. Abroad I certainly cannot. Decide my Fate, therefore, as soon as possible, if it is not yet decided; which I wish and hope, and let me embrace you at Philadelphia or at Milton. With great Affection and Esteem your Friend.

Paris, 15th *April*, 1783. Delivered to Mr. George Mason of Virginia.

John Adams to James Warren

Paris, *April* 12, 1783

Dear Sir, — What would I have given to have been your Doorkeeper for a few days while you had under Deliberation the Dispatches We sent by Barney,[1] that I might have listened with my Ear at the Key hole and overheard your Debates. I fancy some Members will be of opinion, that they have committed a Mistake in committing the Lamb so unreservedly to the Custody of the Wolf. If Congress are not betrayed by the Want of Intelligence or by Misinformation into any unseasonable votes, all will be very well. I should not wish to see, any other vote than a simple Ratification of the provisional Treaty of the 30. of Nov. 1782. Yet the Departure of Barney was, by various means partly accidental and partly designed so long delayed, even to the 17 of January, and the English and the French might have sent the

1 The preliminary articles of peace. Barney commanded the *Washington*. The papers did not reach Congress until March 12.

News in their own Way and in their own Colours so much sooner, tho We know not that they did, that you might be led to form opinions upon partial Evidence. You may well suppose, We are anxious to know. Not a Word from any Part of America, directly or indirectly which gives cause to suppose that you have recd. the News even of the Treaty of the 30. of Nov. Nor that you have recd. the Dutch Treaty, four Copies of which I put on board four different Vessells at Amsterdam in October.[1] We cannot account for the failure of Arrivals in Spain, France, Holland, so absolutely without supposing an Embargo.

The Treaty with Sweeden is made,[2] Denmark has ordered our Flag to be respected like that of Republicks of the first order.[3] Portugal has done the same.[4] The Emperor has an Inclination to treat with Us but The House of Austria never makes the first Advances. Mr. Dana has announced himself to the Chancellor Osterman[5] and recd. for answer that the Way was clear.

Mr. Fox the new Minister declares his good dispositions and his Determination to finish with the Utmost Liberality. Mr. Hartly it is said is to finish with Us, and the Duke of Manchester with the other Powers.

Your Son is said by some to have gone to Italy and by others to have embarked for America from Marseilles where he has wisely been to lay the foundation of Trade and Fortune.

Our young Men may lawfully make their Fortunes. We their Fathers have been employed in preparing the Way. I dont know what to do with my Boys, however. Affectionately yours,

J. Adams

John Adams to James Warren

Confidential, Paris, *April* 13th, 1783

Dear Sir, — I have in some late Letters opened to You in Confidence the Dangers, which our most important Interests have

1 Adams' letter transmitting the treaties was dated October 8, 1782, and reached Congress January 21, 1783. Two days later the treaty with the Netherlands was ratified.
2 Concluded April 3, 1783.
3 See *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence* (Wharton), VI. 261, 372.
4 *Ib.*, 480, 538. 5 Jean, comte d'Ostermann (1724–1811).

been in, as well as the Opposition and Jealousy and Slanders, which your Ministers have met with, from the vain, ambitious and despotic Character of one Minister, I mean the C. de Vergennes. But You will form but an imperfect Idea after all of the Difficulties We have had to encounter, without taking into Consideration another Character equally selfish and interested, equally vain and ambitious, more jealous and envious, and more false and deceitful, I mean Dr. Franklin.

It is a saying of Algernon Sidney concerning Sir Walter Rawleigh, that "his Morals were not sufficiently exact for a great Man." And the Observation can never be applied with more propriety than to Dr. Franklin. His whole Life has been one continued Insult to good Manners and to Decency. His Son, and Grandson, as he calls him with characteristic Modesty; the Effrontery with which he has forced these his Offspring up in the World, not less than his Speech of Polly Baker, are Outrages to Morality and Decorum, which would never have been forgiven in any other American. These things however are not the worst of his Faults. They shew however the Character of the Man; in what Contempt he holds the Opinions of the World, and with what Haughtiness he is capable of persevering through Life in a gross and odious System of Falsehood and Imposture.

A sacred regard to Truth is among the first and most essential Virtues of a public Man. How many Kings have involved themselves and their Kingdoms in Misfortunes, by a Laxness in this particular? How much Mischief has been done in all Ages by Ministers of State, who have indulged themselves in a Duplicity and Finesse, or in other Words, in an Hipocrisy and Falsehood, which some are even abandoned enough to recommend and prescribe to Politicians, but which never yet did any thing but Harm and Mischief. I am sorry to say, but strict and impartial Justice obliges me to say, that from five complete Years of Experience of Dr. Franklin, which I have now had in Europe, I can have no Dependence on his Word. I never know when he speaks the Truth, and when not. If he talked as much as other Men, and deviated from the Truth as often in proportion as he does now,

he would have been the Scorn of the Universe long ago. But his perpetual Taciturnity has saved him.

It would be Folly to deny, that he has had a great Genius, and that he had written several things in Philosophy and in Politicks, profoundly. But his Philosophy and his Politicks have been infinitely exaggerated, by the studied Arts of Empiricism, until his Reputation has become one of the grossest Impostures, that has ever been practised upon Mankind since the Days of Mahomet.

A Reputation so imposing in a Man of Artifice and Duplicity, of Ambition and Vanity, of Jealousy and Envy, is as real a Tyranny as that of the Grand Seignior. It is in vain to talk of Laws of Justice, of Right, of Truth, of Liberty, against the Authority of such a Reputation. It produces all the Servility of Adulation, all the Fear, all the Expectation and Dependence in common Minds, that is produced by the imposing Pomp of a Court and of Imperial Splendour. He had been very sensible of this, and has taken Advantage of it.

As if he had been conscious of the Laziness, Inactivity and real Insignificance of his advanced Age, he has considered every American Minister, who has come to Europe, as his natural Enemy. He has been afraid that some one would serve his Country, acquire a Reputation, and begin to be thought of by Congress to replace him.

Sensible that his Character has not been so much respected in America as in Europe, he has sought an Alliance to support him with Mr. de Sartine and the C. de Vergennes and their "Autours" — Satellites. It is impossible to prove, but from what I know of him, I have no doubt, that he is the Man, who, by means of the Emissaries or Satellites just alluded to, made to those Ministers all the malicious Insinuations against Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard, which, altho' absolutely false and groundless, have made as much Noise in the World, and had almost the same Effects, as if they had been true. From the same detestable Source came the Insinuations and Prejudices against me, and the shameless abandoned Attack upon me, the History of which You know better than I. Hence too the Prejudices against Mr. Dana, Mr. Jay and every other. These are my Opinions, tho' I cannot prove them, otherwise than by

what I have seen and heard myself, what results from a long Series of Letters and Transactions, and what I know of the Characters of the Men. The C. has had his Head filled with so many Prejudices against others, and in favor of him, and has found him so convenient a Minister, ready always to comply with every Desire, never asking any thing but when ordered and obliged to ask for Money, never proposing any thing, never advising any thing, that he has adopted all his Passions, Prejudices and Jealousies, and has supported him, as if his own Office depended upon him. He and his Office of Interpreters have filled all the Gazettes of Europe with the most senseless Flattery of him, and by means of the Police set every Spectacle, Society, and even private Club and Circle to clapping him with such Applause, as they give to Opera Girls. This being the unfortunate Situation of foreign Affairs, what is to be done?

Franklin has, as he gives out, asked Leave to resign. He does not mean to obtain it, but to save the Shame of being recalled. I wish with all my Soul he was out of public Service, and in Retirement, repenting of his past Life, and preparing, as he ought to be, for another World. But as the Peace is made, and he is old, and it will make a horrid Wonder in the World to remove him, and it would be impossible to publish the whole Truth in Justification of it to the People of America as well as of Europe, perhaps it may be as well to let him alone. But at least Congress should firmly and steadily support their other Ministers against his insidious Manouvres. They should add no more Feathers to his Cap. This will however be difficult. He will watch Opportunities, and French Influence will forever aid him, and both will be eternally attacking openly and secretly every other Minister. So that I am persuaded he will remain as long as he lives, the Demon of Discord among our Ministers, and the Curse and Scourge of our foreign Affairs.

France has suffered as much as America, by the unskilful and dishonest Conduct of our foreign Affairs. They have had no Confidence in any but him, and he either knew nothing or cared nothing about Affairs. They have not only not confided in any other, but they have persecuted every other. By which Means France

has not derived half the Advantage from the Alliance in the War, nor will She hold half the Benefit after the Peace, which She might have done, if She had vouchsafed to hearken to the Advice of those, who would have given it honestly and wisely.

To enter into the contemptible detail of all the unworthy Artifices, the Follies and Impositions, that have been the Fruit of these Characters; the "petit Commerce" of —— and —— and ——[1] the Arts in Holland, Spain, Russia, Sweeden, Denmark and all the rest of Europe, to prevent the progress of our Cause, and defeat our Negociations; to straiten in the Article of Money, and distress Us in the War; to keep Us humble, tame and dependent; to strip Us of the Fishery and Western Lands, the Millions of Affronts, Neglects, Contempts, or, in one French Word, "Desagrémens," which have been put upon the Servants of Congress, would fill Volumes.

The Moral and the Politick of all is, "See with your own Eyes, judge with your own Understanding, repeal every shackling Instruction to your Ministers, support them inflexibly against all foreign Influence, and all little spiteful Intrigues."

For my own part, I have been made a Sacrifice to such Intrigues in so gross a manner, that unless I am restored and supported, I am unalterably determined to retire. So resolves your invariable Friend,

J. Adams[2]

[Note.] Paris, 16 *April.* Delivered to Capt. Adam Hoops of Philadelphia, who was bound to Nantes to embark for America.

1 Blanks in the original.

2 Illiberal as this and the following letter now seem to be there was good reason at the time to suspect the attitude and measures of France. It was the cordial relations existing between Franklin and the Court of France that aroused the suspicions of Adams; Lafayette, as a Frenchman of influence at the Court would naturally be placed in the same class. In the light of subsequent events it is recognized that Franklin was on the whole the better interpreter of the French view, but the efforts of Jay and Adams to counter the extreme aims of France in the peace were needed and did conserve the interests of the United States. It is as absurd to believe that Franklin entertained any sentiments hostile to American interests as it is to assume that Adams would intentionally yield one iota of what he considered to be American rights. Both men were earnest patriots, serving their country loyally; but Adams expressed his views freely and frankly and, while he makes history interesting, he suffers by comparison with Franklin's "taciturnity."

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

PARIS, *April* 16, 1783

DEAR SIR, — It is my duty to unbosom myself to some Friend in Congress upon whose discretion I can rely, and there is none to whom I can do it with more Propriety than to you of whose Patriotism and Friendship I have had so long Experience.

We are at Peace, but not out of Danger. That there have been dangerous Designs against our real Independence, if not against our Union and Confederation, is past a doubt in my mind, and we have cause to fear that such designs may be revived in various shapes. Europe is generally sensible that the United States in half a Century will, if they keep together, give the Tone to the World. This is not a flattering Idea to them, and we may depend upon [it] there will be a succession of vain Politicians who will maneuvere to break Us.

Let me beg of you to look up some old Papers in Mr. Thompson's office, I mean the Contracts entered into with Monsieur de Coudrai and other French officers, the M. de la Fayette among others, by Mr. Deane, and Mr. Deane's Letters. If De Coudrai had been made Major General older than Green, with the command of the whole artillery and all military Manufactures, subject only to the Command of Congress and the Commander in Chief, and if the Marechall M. had been that Commander in Chief as was proposed, what would have been the Situation of our Army and Country! in whose Power should we have been? Pursue the History of our foreign affairs from that time to this and see if all has been right, See if we have not motives enough to think of standing on our own Legs and judging for ourselves.

The Marquis de la Fayette is an amiable Nobleman and has great Merit. I enjoy his Friendship and wish a Continuance of it; But I will conceal nothing from you. I see in that Youth the seeds of Mischief to our Country if we do not take Care.

He was taken early into our Service and placed in an high Command, in which he has behaved well, but he has gained more applause than human nature at twenty-five can bear. It has inkindled in him an unbounded Ambition which it concerns Us much to watch.

The Instructions of Congress to their foreign Ministers to consult with him was very ill judged; it was lowering themselves and their Servants. There is no American Minister who would not have been always ready and willing to consult with him; but to enjoin it and make it a Duty, was an humiliation that would astonish all the World if it was known. Your Ministers will never be respected, never have any Influence, while you depress them in this manner. Every Frenchman of Course who knows it, and enough do know it, will consider your Servants as mere Instruments in their hands. If Dr. Franklin Mr. Jay, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Dana, have occasion for the Advice of the Marquis, it would be wonderfull. It may be said that he is a convenient Go-between. I say for this very Reason it should have been avoided. There ought to be no Go-between. Your Ministers should confer directly with the Ministers of other Powers, and if they choose at any time to make Use of a third Person, they ought to choose him.

The Marquis may live these fifty years. Ten years may bring him by the order of Succession to the Command of your Army. You have given him a great deal too much of Popularity in our own Country. He is connected with a Family of vast Influence in France. He rises fast in the French Army. He may be soon in the Ministry. This Mongrel Character of French Patriot and American Patriot cannot exist long, and if hereafter it should be seriously the Politicks of the French Court to break our Union, Imagination cannot conceive a more Proper Instrument for the Purpose than the Marquis. He is now very active, everlastingly busy, ardent to distinguish himself every Way, especially to increase his Merit towards America, aiming as I believe at some Employment from Congress. Pains are taken to give him the Credit of every Thing. believe me it is of infinite Importance that you yourselves and your Servants should have the Reputation of their own Measures and of doing your Service.

I know the Confederation of our States to be a brittle Vessell, I know it will be an object of Jealousy to France. Severe strokes will be aimed at it; if We are not upon our Guard to ward them off, it will be broken and what a scene of Misery to our Country does this Idea open.

Amidst all the Joys of Peace and the glorious Prospect before Us I see in Europe so many Causes of Inquietude that I cannot be longer easy without laying my Thoughts open to a friend. I have freely hinted at the Characters which have given me unutterable Distress, because they have endangered and dishonoured our Country, and I now give you my apprehensions of another.

Our Country is a singular one. It is a Temple of Liberty set open to all the World. If there is anything on Earth worthy of being contended for it is this glorious object. I never had thro my whole Life any other Ambition than to cherish, promote and protect it, and never will have any other for myself nor my children. For this object however I have [endured] as much as any Conqueror ever had; for this I have run as great Risques and made as great Sacrifices as any of the pretended Heroes whose object was Domination and Power, Wealth and Pleasure. For this I have opened to you Characters with Freedom which it is to me personally dangerous to touch, but it is necessary and come what will I will not flinch. These People know me, they know I stand in their Way, and therefore you will hear of insinuations enough darkly circulated, to lessen me at home. I care not. Let me come home and tell my own story your Frd.

J. Adams

Mercy Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Milton, *May* 4th, 1783

Sir, — Did not the stronger motive of friendship excite, I think the Gratitude due from each individual of your Country would be a stimulus sufficient to set the pen in motion. Urged by such Laudable principles an apology for calling aside your Attention from objects of Greater Magnitude is unnecessary. And if I am the Last to Congratulate you on the success of your Negotiations, I will venture to say I am not the Least sensible of their importance. and among the Multitude of your friends you have few who enjoy more pleasure in your Triumph over your Enemies, or in that Firmness, Intrepidity, and Perseverance that at once ob-

tained it and secured the Claims of America on a Basis that promisses Wealth and Honor (and if not incompatible) I will add Happiness to posterity.

And do you think now, sir, to retire to sit down Quietly and enjoy the sweets of Domestic life. No. Never, till Weary Nature diminishes your Capacity for acting in the sphere of Dignified Difficulty. you was not made for the purpose of Resting in the cool sequestered shade of life. it is yours to tread the bold and craggy path of politics, to Counteract the Intrigues of statesmen and Princes, to settle the Boundaries of Nations and mark the line of Empire. and what is more difficult to Atchieve, to convince Mankind that probity is the surest Road to Honour.

A people destitute of public or private Virtue cannot be long Happy by the Exertions of a few of the best or Wisest of her Citizens. Yet I believe the Example of one Good Man unawed by threats, uncorrupted by Gold and unmoved by the Machinations, Refinements and Duplicity of systematical Villany, has a Greater tendency to keep alive the Respect due to Real Merit than either judiciary Restraints or the best digested Code of Moral injunction.

I feel myself disposed to Loquacity (Nothing Novel in my pen) but least the subject before me should betray me into some Expressions that might bear the semblance of Flattery, instead of that just mean of applause due to Distinguished Worth, I leave all Panegirick to the Historian and the Poet. And in the simple familiar style of unadorned Friendship, inquire whether the American Minister at the Hague Received several Letters under the signature of Marcia, and if the Cold Phlegmatic Dutchman, more Honest than polite, Delayed a return, surely the influence of a Milder Clime will soften to Condesention, and the Ettiquette of Varsellies and Paris forbid such an affront to a Lady.

Therefore I shall peep as eagerly into the next paket as an inspector to a Plenipo, for a Letter Directed to one who asks not forgiveness for these short interruptions. the little interludes of common Life Give fresh Exhileration to the spirits and fill up the Vacant Moment when the mind is Worn down by the Higher Avocations to Bussiness, or Fatigued by the parade of Courts and the pomp and Glare of Grandeur.

Political connexions, the state of parties and the Internal Feuds in your Beloved Country, you doubtless have through the hands of more Interested Observers. And if, through the Inattention of public or the Negligence of private Men you have not all the Intelligence you might Expect, you have Every thing Worthy of your Notice from a quarter that Enhances the Value of the Communication.

I therefore only add that your American Friends wish most Ardently to see; that the Friends of America wish your Residence in Europe, and that wherever you Reside, or whatever is your Mode of Life an affectionate prayer for your Happiness will be Breathed from the Lips of, Sir, your assured Friend and Humble servant

M. Warren

P.S. Please to make particular Compliments to the American Gentlemen of my acquaintance. A Letter from Mr. J[ohn] in the high style of Russian politeness would be very pleasing to his young Friends on Milton Hill.

May 9th. Mr. Warren expecting a more direct opportunity soon will write you Largely. this will be handed you by a Mr. Watson [1] of Marblehead, formerly of Plimouth, who wishes for an opportunity to wait on you.

James Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Milton, *June* 24th, 1783

My Dear Sir, — I thank you for your Letters of the 6th September and 15th December and should have done it long before now, but I expected to do it *viva voce* at Braintree or Milton, in the Month of June at furthest, but as that may probably be postponed to November, I will not loose another Opportunity of writing to you and especially so good an one as this by the *America*. I congratulate you on the Peace and the honourable Share you have had in making it. they both give me pleasure. Your Countrymen

1 Elkanah Watson.

at present feel and express their Gratitude for your Conduct on this occasion, and those that have lead to it, and if you return soon you may enjoy it but it is not a permanent plant in your Country at least in every Instance. every Body thinks the Terms honourable on our part, and quite equal to the most sanguine Expectations and yet every Body is not pleased. had such an Event taken place in 1778, we should have received it with Extacy, every Body would have rejoiced without any other Exception than the Tories. but we love Money now better than we did then. the Farmer cant bear to see the fall of his produce, and the Merchant regrets that there is an End of the prospects of making a fortune by a single Voyage. Indeed the Contrast is great. every thing is getting into its old Station. European Goods have got below it. our Harbours are crouded with Ships. Boston and Philadelphia can furnish those Goods as cheap as London or Paris, but that matter will come right when the European Merchants have paid for the Experiment and learn'd to leave the Importation of Goods here to our Merchants.

I suppose you are now engaged in the Treaty of Commerce with Britain. shall we have the Transport Trade as before from the West Indies, to enable us to get our Ships to Market. that is a matter of Importance to this State, and perhaps more so to New Hampshire. The other States will be Indifferent which way it is decided, and some of them will prefer our being Excluded from it, because they may get their Goods to Market cheaper if our Ships have nothing else to do. The English Islands cannot be Indifferent. if we cannot carry their freights they must pay dear for our Lumber on one hand while freight may rise on the other. but if Britain should think it right to confine that Business to their own Ships, they cant complain if we do the same with regard to the Transport of Tobacco, rice, oil, etc., etc.; for if the cases are not exactly similar they are near enough for policy to accomodate the same measures to.

The Tories in all parts of America reprobate the Article that relates to their Brother refugees and say it would have been better for them if no mention had been made of them, while it gives some Uneasiness to the Whiggs who think it may produce dissensions

among us, especially if any of them are admitted. our Papers will by the Instructions to Representatives from several Towns, give you an Idea of the Temper and Sense of the People on this head. the only one that both sides agree in Excepting to and wishing Obliterated. but let it remain. it is best we should not have every thing we wish for, and it is a Trifle in Comparison of those great Acquisitions we have secured. if we could have foreseen this period and this state of things it would have made us happy ten years ago. it would certainly have saved you and I many an anxious day and night. but flattering as our present prospect is, I agree with you it is to be ascribed to the Providence of God, and that we have much yet before us. if we do not improve our present Advantages they may not make us happy. but how are we to guard against "the Contagion of European Manners, and that Excessive Influx of Commerce, Luxury and Inhabitants from abroad which will soon Embarrass us." Commerce will flow with an irresistable Tide. Manners and Luxury will follow of course, and Inhabitants from abroad wanted in some proportion. it will be difficult to draw the Line where to stop. you must come and help us do the Great work. we want a Chief Magistrate of abilities. you must be the Man. my wish is to see it and you will be if you come. you can hardly conceive the Inconveniences we suffer from the Imbecillity of Administration in this State, and yet the Inchantment is too strong to be broken, without you. the necessity of a Rotation provided for in the Constitution never appeared more evident. but even the Constitution is not observed with that sacred regard it should be. it is violated upon any Occasion to serve a purpose. Judge S——n [1] was chosen a Representative for the Town of Boston after being an Inhabitant only about six Months, and the House have declared the Election Valid. what security is there for the remaining parts of the Constitution. Ways and Means to pay our Debts, etc., are the principal Objects of Congress, and their Legislatures. Among these Imposts and Excises hold the first place, and are pursued with Enthusiasm. I wish they may not be to the ruin of Commerce, and Liberty. I have too much to say to you on this subject for the remaining part

1 James Sullivan (1744–1808).

of this Letter, and too much on the dangers I apprehend from the Influence and Views of some Men at and about Congress, and the trusting that or any Body of Men with a standing revenue out of the reach of our own Controul. The principal and Interest of our Debts must be paid. I cant say what is the best method but I think it would be best to assign to each State its proper proportion, and let them do it in their own way. this mode is not without Objections but I think it the safest.

Mr. Gerry goes to Congress this week. if you ask why I dont go, I will tell you because I have been Sick the whole Spring, and dare not Venture to go at this Season. Mrs. Adams and Nabby are on a Visit at Heverhill. you may suppose they are well, and will doubtless have it under their hands by this Opportunity. Mrs. Warren joins in Wishes for your Health and prosperity. our Good wishes extend to Mr. Thaxter, Mr. Storer and your Son. will you make my respectful regards to your Friend Mr. Jay. I love him for his Friendship for you, I honour him for his Probity and Patriotism in the Execution of his Important Commissions. I am Sir Your Friend with Great Esteem,

J. Warren

Arthur Lee to James Warren

In Congress, Princeton, *Augt.* 13, 1783

Dear Sir, — I had the honor of writing to Mrs. Warren relative to Your Son's object.[1] I have now to add that it is not probable any question on the subject will come on 'till the new delegation takes place of the present; therefore it woud be prudent to impress them before they leave your State, in his favor.

Our removal to Philadelphia, tho much urgd, has not yet been effected; but such is the influence of art and cultivation over right and judgment that I cannot promise a vote will not at length be obtaind for that pernicious measure.

Will you have the goodness to inform me, whether any thing has been done relative to the land voted to me; and how the paper-

1 Winslow Warren had applied, July 2, 1783, to be appointed consul.

money, of which I troubled you with a parcell to receive the interest, is now circumstancd. Whether it is funded, has depreciated or appretiated?

We have not a word from any Minister in Europe relative to the definitive treaty, which is not a little surprising. Mr. Dana was well at Petersburg in April, when he informd us that the Empress would not receive him 'till the ratification of the definitive treaty, and a new Letter of credence is sent dated posterior to the acknowlegment of our Independence by the british Crown.[1] This seems to be an over-delicacy. Please to present my best respects to Mrs. Warren, Mrs. J. Adams, Mr. Bodwoine, and Mr. S. Adams. Farewell.

A. Lee

John Adams to James Warren

Paris, *Septr.* 10, 1783

My dear Friend, — I received with great Pleasure yours of 24. June. The Approbation of my Countrymen is a great Pleasure and Support to me but that Approbation does not extend I fancy so far as you and several others seem to imagine. if it does I am unfit for their Purposes, having neither Health nor Patience, for the arduous and trying Duties of their first Magistrate, an honor too high and a situation too delicate for me.

A Residence in the Massachusetts is the desire of my Soul, and the only one where I can enjoy Life. I still hope to pass my Evening, hastening on apace, in that Country: But Congress have tied me again to Europe by a new Commission so honourable to me, as to have really touched my heart.[2] Upon a very long Letter of mine they have founded this Commission and have owned it, in their Journals. Whoever shall compare the Letter and Commission together, will own that it does me infinite honour, and ought to silence forever every Complaint on my part for what is past. I am now indifferent who goes to England, but still think the public Good requires that some one should go.

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xxiv. 348,

2 May 1, 1783, Congress had appointed Adams, Franklin and Jay, to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Great Britain. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xxiv. 320.

We shall do our Utmost Endeavour to secure to Massachusetts and N. Hampshire a Way to Market for their ships through the West India Islands. But N. Hampshire and Rhode Island too, should support in Congress, those Men to whom if to any body they must be indebted, for this Benefit, and not sacrifice them to the Vanity of another, who will take little Pains about it, who is afraid to think in the day, for fear he should not sleep at night, whose whole Time and thoughts s[eem] to be taken up, with little clandestine Projects to gratify his private vanity and secure to himself, and his Name exclusive Reputation, at the Expence even of others who do real Business for the Benefit of the public and who think and act wholly for its good.

our Navigation will be materially affected, by our Treaties with Denmark and Portugal, which Dr. Franklin has been secretly contriving to get the exclusive Management of, as he did that of Sweeden. N. H. and R. Island shd be upon their Guard, and join others in this Business who think a little about it.

Mr. Dana will soon be with you. He can give you very entertaining and instructive Histories not of Voyages and Travels alone, but of Negotiations. His defeat comes from the same source, very secret and cunning, but very malicious to every Man and every Project, calculated for the public Good. This one Man seems to have a positive Spight against every public service, that he does not exclusively perform himself. He opposes it and persecutes the Agent in it with a Malice and Rancour that is astonishing. I could have formed no Idea, that Jealousy Envy and Vanity could have gone such Lengths.

I think our Country should form Treaties with the Two Empires, as well as Denmark and Portugal. to these should be added, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, perhaps too the Kings of Sardinia, and Naples. one Commission, may be enough for all these Purposes, in order to save Expence. But this Commission ought not to be given to one alone at Paris, when three are obliged to reside there on another Negotiation. We should be all joined in it, and when We have completed the Business We may all go home.

My best Respects and kindest Regards to your Family. My

Friend Mr. Otis, seems to have been permitted to see the Building finished which he framed, and then taken away in a manner equally happy and distinguished.[1] He was a favourite of Nature in his Genius and in his Death. The History of our Country I hope will do Justice to this great Character. With great Esteem, your Frd. and Sert.

J. Adams

John Adams to Mercy Warren

Paris, *Septr.* 10, 1783

Madam, — It is but a very few days, since I received your Letter of the 4. of May, which afforded me, as your Letters always do, a delicious Entertainment. Your friendly Congratulations, on the Success of my feeble Efforts, are very agreable to me, and very obliging.

You say that I shall never retire, till weary Nature diminishes my Capacity of acting in dignified difficulty. Give me leave to say, that the Period is already arrived. Nature is weary, the Capacity is diminished but what is more agreable to Think of, the dignified difficulties are all at an End. I always had a Knack at a Difficulty. My Country Clients used to tell me, Mr. Adams is excellent at a difficult Case, and having a reputation for this I was always vexed with them. Few of the Race of Adam have had more Difficulties fall to his share. But I consider them as all at an End in a manner.

Probity, Madam, would be not only the surest, but the only Road to honour if Mankind were not deceived. But there are so many Ways of cheating and imposing upon the most enlightened People, that it is almost impossible to keep Steady their Approbation of the Just, their Contempt of the Vile, or their Abhorrence of the Wicked.

I believe I have never failed to Answer a Letter from Marcia, if I have I was very much to blame, and very inattentive to my own Interest, for I prize very highly her Letters, both for the Pleasure and Instruction I derive from them.

1 The "Patriot." He was killed by lightning May 23, 1783, at Andover.

I have absolutely got above all Fatigue from Pomp and Parade. it has no Effect upon me. one may be familiarized to any Thing. My house stands in a very public Place at the Confluence of Several, much frequented streets. There are generally half a dozen Chariots at a Time, rolling by upon the Pavements, for at least one and twenty hours out of the four and twenty making an incessant Roar, like the Falls of Niagara. Yet I dont hear it. I write, read, etc., as if all were still. The imposing Glare of a Court, at present has as little Effect on me. I am as insensible to it, as an Indian would be.

I have indeed, Madame, been horridly neglected in the Article of Intelligence. I have endeavoured to correspond with Members of Congress, but before my Letters could reach them they had retired. I have been Shamefully uninformed of what has passed at Philadelphia and Boston. But I hope for better Times.

It was with very Affecting Sentiments that I learned, the Death of Mr. Otis, my worthy Master. Extraordinary in Death as in Life, he has left a Character, which will never die, while the Memory of the American Revolution remains, whose Foundations he laid, with an Energy, and with those masterly Abilities which no other Man possessed.

With very great Respect and Esteem I have the honor to be, Madam, your Sincere Friend and very humble Servant,

JOHN ADAMS

ARTHUR LEE TO JAMES WARREN

PRINCETON, *Sepr.* 17th, 1783

MY DEAR SIR, — Not having expected Mr. Higgenson's [1] going so soon, I have but a moment to write you. His conduct in Congress has been that of an able and upright friend to his Country; and I therefore much regret his leaving us. He will communicate to you all the News we have here. My private Letters give me reason to expect that the definitive treaty will soon arrive.[2]

1 Stephen Higginson (1743–1828).
2 The treaty was laid before Congress December 13, 1783.

I have thought it my duty to move Congress for information from the Super-intendant of Finance; what Cloathing has been purchased with the public money and why the Soldiers have not receivd what was orderd by Congress. The Superintendant has answerd, that he does not know what has been purchasd, and that he thought it was more proper to sell the Cloathing than distribute it to the Soldiery. In laying out the public Money Commissions accrue to his friends, in selling the things so purchasd, new Commissions arise to the Sellers. In this case, it is his Clerk, Mr. Swanwick,[1] who is to have this emolument. In the mean time the Soldiers have been fifteen months without their cloathing tho two millions of dollars have been taken out of the public Coffers for that purpose. Thus while fallacious reports on this man's conduct are publishd in all the Papers, and his tools are filling the Papers with praises calculated to deceive the public; the public money is lavishd away, the Soldiery, defrauded and the public plunderd. I wish this matter were stated in Your Papers. Those of Philadelphia are altogether in his pay.

I hope the location of my Grant is made and well made; and shall be obligd to you for information on the subject.

I beg my best respects to Mrs. Warren and the rest of your Family, and when you see that of Mr. Bodwoin, that you will have the goodness to remember me to them. Farewell.

A. Lee

P.S. I enclose you the motions I made relative to the Soldier's Cloathing, with the short speech which introducd them, together with an Account of the Monies said to have been laid out in purchasing Cloathing, but not accounted for. All this you will put into the Papers if you see fit.

[Enclosure]

Mr. A. Lee having in his place stated to Congress That he had seen a part of the Massachusetts line march thro' Princeton, and observing that the Soldiers were ill-cloathd, and knowing that much larger Sums of public money had been chargd as laid out for cloathing than woud have cloathed the whole Army compleatly, and that by a Resolve of Congress the Army shoud have receivd Cloath-

1 John Swanwick, who was cashier in Morris' firm.

ing once a year; he enquird of the Commanding Officer of those Troops, how it happend that the Soldiers were so ill cloathd; and having been informd by him that the Soldiers had not receivd their Cloathing the last twelve months, but that their Uniforms were turnd and new facd — which information was farther confirmd by a General Officer with this addition, that the Soldiers were obligd to sell their Certificates at Philadelphia for part even of what they wore — Mr. A. Lee thought it his duty to his Country and to the Soldiery to move the following Resolutions: [1]

Arthur Lee to James Warren

Princeton, *Ocr.* 16th, 1783

Dear Sir, — I receivd your favor of the 1st by last post. No day is fixd for entering upon the business of Consuls, and it seems the opinion of some that no minister above them shoud be continued in Europe unless for very extraordinary [reasons]. We tried upon another occasion to obtain a resolution that none but Citizens shoud be eligible to the Office of Consul, which woud have excluded a great number of Candidates. But we lost the question.[2]

The attempts to get us into Philadelphia tho strenuous, have been hitherto resisted and I hope will continue to be so, or I am satisfyd we shoud have the most ample reason to rue it.

I enclose you a continuation of some strictures on the philadelphia Address, which I observe were printed in one of your Papers. They are necessary to compleat the proof of the impudence of the Addressers. I shall be obligd to you [to] send these to the same Printer that he may insert them also.

Please to make my respects to Mrs. Warren, and remember me to your Son. Farewell.

A. L.

Continuation of the Strictures in a late Address to Congress from some of the Citizens of Philadelphia &c.

Gentlemen, — I had the honor of shewing you, in my former Address that what some of your Citizens had the confidence to assert in their Address to Congress, namely — that you had in an essential manner distinguish'd your-

1 The resolutions and votes are printed in the *Journals of the Continental Congressl*, xxv. 536.

2 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, xxv. 620, 637.

selves by every exertion which principle coud inspire or fortitude support — was not quite consonant to truth. That measuring your exertions with your means they appeard the most feeble in the union. That tho' *essentially distinguishd* from the other States in the Union by the vast profits, emoluments and advantages arising from the residence of Congress — their treasury — Officers — and the foreign Ministers among you; by freedom from an Enemy or Impress among you for several years; prospering in agriculture, trade, and commerce — you had been almost as deficient in the *whole* of your contributions as those States which were essentially distinguishd from you — by the devastation of their fields — the destruction of their Capitols — the interruption of their trade, and commerce — and by all the calamities, which internal war can bring upon a distressd People.

The object of this Address will be, to prove to you, that if you have been justly chargeable with *defective* exertions in furnishing your quota to the field, and to the continental treasury your *alertness in taking money out of the same treasury for state purposes*, has distinguishd you far beyond any State in the Union. This fact will appear most clearly from the following view drawn from the journals of Congress.

Monies Drawn out of the Treasury of the U. S.

By	*In the year 1775*	*1776*	*1778*	*1779*	*1780*	*Total*
N. Hampshire	40,000	177,500	202,500	27,000	78,000	525,000
Massachusetts	443,333	.....	312,200	813,000	73,600	1,642,133
Rhode Island	.....	120,000	550,000	316,000	38,000	1,024,000
Connecticut	.....	12,500	257,266	174,000	58,000	501,766
New-York	50,000	166,200	101,000	34,500	11,000	462,500
New Jersey	5,000	100,000	297,500	7,500	2,000	402,000
Pensylvania	14,000	1,035,000	473,600	2,009,200	2,500	3,556,800
Delaware	3,100	4,000	.....	.....	.....	7,100
Maryland	.....	98,738	261,470	816,000	114,000	1,290,208
Virginia	.....	95,333	75,021	323,000	153,000	648,354
N. Carolina	.....	12,400	623,278	159,808	169,000	954,746
S. Carolina	.....	.....	570,276	2,500	181,000	754,746
Georgia	5,100	72,000	113,839	6,000	449,289	666,128

From this it is plain, that for five years of the war, you were not *very* free of your fortunes, but exceedingly liberal of your drafts on the Continental Treasury, so that you receivd twice as much as Massachusetts and six times as much as Virginia. Yet these States are to redeem a *fifth* more than you. If we take the middle of each year for reducing the Sums taken in them respectively, we shall find the whole to amount to — 1,152,848 hard dollars, which you have taken out of the United Treasury; and you boast of having put into it 100,000.

The error then of the Addressers seems to be this — that they have claimd a general pre-eminence of merit, during the whole war, from having contributed a little more money than most of the States in the Union, during the last year of the war. But surely you will allow it to be just, that when such comparisons are drawn, they shoud flow from a view of the sum total of the Contributions of each State in — Men, Money, and Specifics, during the whole war, deducting the monies they drew from the common fund.

When you are forming this estimate, I hope you will not forget, what I know from having servd in that campaign, that at the close of the year 1776, when the Enemy threatnd immediately *your* State and your City, the State of Virginia alone furnishd two thirds of the Troops, which enabled our illustrious General, to execute an enterprize against the Enemy's posts in the Jerseys, repelld the danger from you at that time and gave an ascendency to our military reputation which it never lost. Had we *then* depended on the boasted exertions of a City, containing forty thousand Inhabitants, *free of their fortunes and their lives*, as the Address says, the fact shews that — in the most pressing danger to themselves and to the Union, they woud hardly have furnishd Regulars enough to have attackd a Picket of the Enemy. Yet we see, that in the same year your State drew from the public treasury — 1,035,000 dlls — when paper-money was little if at all depritiated. I shall not repeat the reasons that were then given, for your not making more adequate exertions. The[y] did no honor to your patriotism. It was a misfortune that revolution principles prevaild so little among you. But surely you shoud have had more modesty, remembering those circumstances, than to have boasted, that you were distinguishd for doing, what you were in fact distinguishd for not doing. I perceive that you will attempt to draw some source of defence, from the payments you have made since the close of the year 1782, which I am informd exceed those of any other State. But let it be rememberd, that the pre-eminence which the residence of Congress gave you in the eyes of Europe, drew almost the whole of the foreign trade to your City on the cessation of hostilities; insomuch that it is matter of common notoriety that in a few months, the duty of 2 pr Ct on Imports, brot into your treasury fifty thousand pounds. So that the whole of your contribution very little exceeds the produce of a single tax.

The same cause drew to you many rich Emigrants, who have deposited large sums of specie in that Bank, which the public money raisd in your City for your sole emolument. The States ought to order an enquiry by what authority so partial a use was made of the public money, while several of them were laid waste by the Enemy for want of Arms, and Ammunition to repel them, while the troops to the southward were destitute of Cloathing, and recruiting their lines, was for that reason renderd impracticable.

Having now fulfilld the purpose with which I addressd you, Gentlemen, I shall take my leave with recommending to you that modesty, without which even merit loses its lustre and its beauty.

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *October* 27th, 1783

DEAR SIR, — Your Favours of the 20th and 21st of March, and the 9th, 12th, 13th and 16th of April, have come safe to Hand, but did not reach me till this Month, and found me on this Hill, at Work among my Potatoes, instead of being in Congress "at the great Wheel." Nor do I regret this on my own Account. I am quite contented with a private life, and my Ambition is quite satisfied by excelling in the perfection of my Composts, the Culture of my Lands, and in the Quality and Abundance of my Crops; but I own I sometimes wish to be at the Wheel to serve my Country, and to support her Friends, and my Own, who I am happy to say are always the same, and never more than since I receiv'd your Letters, for though my Ideas with regard to the Politicks and Conduct of the French Court, were in general right before, you have certainly given me some new Ones with regard to the Folly of our Own. from this Folly (by which I mean not only Weakness but Corruption) has proceeded all the Difficulties, Embarrassments, Neglects, and even Insults that you, and other honest Men have suffer'd, and the Dangers this Country has been expos'd to, and from which it has by the Vigilance, Industry, and Ability of a Few been rescued with Difficulty. The Foreign Influence (or the French and Frankleian Politicks) which produces all this is very extensive, and very strong, the Traits of it are to be seen every where, in Boston as well as Philadelphia, but to be sure the last is the Place where the Focus is collected, and where it operates with its greatest Force. An honest Young Gentleman sent there to represent his Country, and who feels and resents with Spirit its Injuries, in a Fortnight will be soften'd, and in another Week become quite Tame and Compliant. Louisdores must have a Share in such wonderful Conversions, and I think I can observe the Effects of them at Boston. I am told that Congress since they left Philadelphia have acted with more Freedom than before, it is to be wish'd they may never return. This Influence is greatly strengthened by an Union with those who wish to Establish an Oligarchy, and who have nearly effected it. these play into each

others Hands, and by their joint Efforts bear down all Opposition. Morris is a King, and more than a King. He has the Keys of the Treasury at his Command, Appropriates Money as he pleases, and every Body must look up to him for Justice and for Favour. When Wilson [1] succeeds as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Fitzwilliams [2] is at the Head of the Marine, and a Suitable Person succeeds Gen'l Lincoln, who has resign'd the War Department,[3] when he shall say what Number of Troops shall be kept up, and have an Host of New Placemen to collect an Impost Mortgaged for Twenty-five Years, he will have us all in his Pocket; It is this Alliance that makes me tremble, the Foreign Influence might be destroy'd, or be discourag'd by the Expence, or ballanc'd by Ministers from other Courts, especially from Britain, but if this Oligarchal System is not Annihilated, I think our Liberties must be. You will be able to Judge from all this what an Influence Money and Fortune give a Man in this Country, especially when you recollect the Character you have heard given of this Man, and his Abilities; and you will no longer wonder at the want of Intelligence, because much is to be done to accommodate Matters to their System before it is given. This will account for the Revocation of the Commission for a Treaty of Commerce, however fatal it may probably prove to the Interests of our Country, for the wrong Sentiments prevailing with regard to Commerce, and for the Plan of a Monopoly now subsisting in Favour of France our disinterested and generous Ally; for the Obstructions to your Negotiations in Holland: for your Instructions at different Times, and why no Appointment has been made to the Court of Great Britain, and for the ill Conduct of our Foreign Affairs in All respects. No Appointment is yet made to the Court of Britain, because your Character and Conduct is so unexceptionable and good in the Eyes of all honest Men, and the People in General, that they dare not yet treat you with that Neglect that is consistent with their Views, and yet they can't wish to have you the Man. thus they Jockey, and Play into each others Hands, and

1 James Wilson (1742–1798).
2 Probably Thomas Fitzsimons (1741–1811) is intended.
3 Lincoln's resignation was accepted by Congress October 29.

gratify the Court and the Doctor. I sincerely with all the Ardour of Friendship and Patriotism lament your want of Health, and Support. I have pray'd for your Health, and done all in my Power in my small Circle to give you Support, and have very good Reasons why I have not given it in a Place where it might have been more Efficacious. I could not go to Congress immediately on my Election which was out of Season, and Unexpected, and before I had an Opportunity I was prevented by Sickness.

What shall I say about your coming Home? You know that as a Friend I wish to see you. Your Country wants you here. Your Family would be happy to have you return. But where and in what Situation should we have been if you and Mr. Jay had not been in Europe? When I form an Idea of it I feel like a Man that has had a Hair-Breadth Escape from a Precipice. Your Delineation of the Character and Views of a Young Nobleman is exceedingly Just, and shews in a convincing Light the wrong policy of our Country in their Instructions, even if it could possibly be good Policy to let down and humble their Ministers; After all I don't know that I detest any Character more than that of the Old Man, who is, as you might expect your determin'd Enemy. You will before this reaches you get a paragraph of one of his Letters, which if you should by an Interval be in possession of your right Mind will put the Matter out of Doubt; How long will he live? and if he lives how long can he be able to preserve the good Opinion and Confidence of his Country? The Bubble must burst soon, or Mankind are more lost to Sentiment and Virtue, than I can suppose. I wish instead of being a Door-Keeper for three or four Days you could be on a Seat in Congress, and have a full Swing in developing the Character and Conduct of this Man, and descanting on the false Politicks of your Country. I should like to be your Colleague.

With regard to the State of our particular Affairs, Government here is in the same Hands. Our Delegates are Gerry, Partridge, Osgood, Sullivan and Danielson — the Wisdom of our Legislature have left out Holton and Higginson two very good and uncorrupt Men for the sake of the two last. The great Political Object that now engages the Contemplation of the Continent is the Support of Publick Credit, and it is indeed an Object worthy their serious

Deliberations, and should be done. The Financier proposes an Impost as Part of the Plan. Congress have recommended it by their Act. Our Assembly in the present Session have again pass'd it, but by a small Majority of only three in the House of Representatives, this is favorable to the System I have describ'd. I don't like it because I think it injurious to Commerce, and dangerous to Publick Liberty, and because I think a more safe, sure, and easy Way may be devis'd for doing it. I am, sincerely Your Friend and most Humble Servant, J. WARREN

New-York is still possess'd by the Enemy. the Want of Transports and the Safety of the Loyalists have been the pretences for delaying the Evacuation, but I think they are now seriously providing for it, and I believe it will be done soon. Great Quantities of European Goods have since the Peace pour'd in upon us from every Quarter, and most of them in Foreign Bottoms; but the miserable Market they have come to, must discourage them in future, and perhaps work a Cure for the Evil, and leave us to import for ourselves, and on our own Bottoms. The Abundance of fine Things have however destroyed the Ideas of Frugality which Necessity had before given, and drain'd us of our Money — how a sufficiency has been found to purchase what has been brought us, is beyond my Comprehension. Our Fisheries the last Season have for want of Vessels been very inconsiderable, but growing fast into Importance; I suppose the Manufactory of Pot, and Pearl Ashes will soon recover their former Perfection, and that the Quantities of Flax Seed will this Year be considerable. Some Emigrations from the Old Countries, chiefly from Ireland have been made to the Southern States, but none have arriv'd here, which I wonder at; a Moderate Proportion would be serviceable, we want Labourers, and we want Occupiers for some of our Vacant Lands. I don't like the predilection they shew in favour of the Southern States. The immense Territory acquir'd by the Treaty of Peace, and the ample Provision for the Extent and Security of our Fishery gratify the most sanguine Wishes of your Friends, while your Enemies dare not deny that we are under Providence indebted to you for these great Acquisitions.

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *November* 15th, 1783

MY DEAR SIR, — Since my last which went in a French Brigantine by way of Nantes, Copy of which you have above, Nothing Material has taken place, except a Resolution of Congress to erect Buildings and to reside alternately on the Delaware and Potowmack, and in the mean Time, they have adjourn'd to Annapolis on the 12th Instant. this is consider'd by the Patriots as a Triumph. Our Friend Gerry thinks the Measure will have Beneficial, and Extensive, Consequences, and particularly that it will strengthen the Union, and Confidence of the Southern and Northern States; It will at least embarrass those Measures which had been so successful while Congress sat at Philadelphia, and which would have been fully executed had it return'd there again. The last Ships from London bring us Advices that the definitive Treaty was sign'd the beginning of September but no Official Account is yet arriv'd, nor do we hear any Thing of the Commercial Treaty. I can suppose that many Difficulties attend that Business. Mr. Temple who goes for England and designs to go also to France takes this, and will hand or forward it to you. I think he has been used here very hardly. Our G——r and his Tools have been the Immediate Actors. whether their Conduct Originated from their Own little, narrow Policy, or is deriv'd from a higher Source I don't know — for my Part I have not a Single Reason to suppose he ever did, or ever wished to injure this Country, and he certainly has done it Service in some Instances, and for some Cause or other has suffer'd greatly. You will probably see him, and hear his Account of the whole Matter;[1] His principal Views in going to Europe are to endeavour to get from the present Ministry some compensation for the Losses he sustain'd by a former Administration, and to see and bring Dr. Franklin to an explicit Declaration with respect to the Letters; I wish him Success in both. If it be convenient for you to give him any Assistance, you will in my Opinion do Service to an honest Man, and oblige those who think

1 Temple's case was set forth by himself in two papers described in *Collections*, LXXV. 2344, 2353.

him so. Your Lady and Daughter spent the Day with us Yesterday. You will probably have it under their own Hands by this Opportunity that they are well. I am, with great Respect, Your Friend and Humble Servant,

J. Warren

Jabez Bowen to James Warren

Providence, *Novmr.* 26, 1783

Dear Sir, — Your Letter of the 26th ulto. came safe to hand. I should have Answer'd it before but expected to have given you some further Account of the Impost, as our General Assembly was then about to meet. The Session was short, and verry little Publick Business done. The Assembly now stands Prorogued to the fourth Monday of December, at which time the Question will be fully discussed, and I doubt not but the Event will fully answer your wishes notwithstanding the great Intrest that is continually making to push it thro' from a Certain Quarter.

Nothing can or will go right till the Publick Accounts are settled. The efforts already made have Cost the Nation large sums of Money and no progress is yet made in the Business and I have Reason to believe will not 'till the whole Plan of Finance is adopted.

This State have an Impost of Two pr. Cent on all Foreign Goods, the Nt. proceeds whereof, are appropriated to pay the Intrest on the States Debt. We have also a Tax now Collecting to pay the Intrest on Loan Office Certificates and other Consolidated Debts due from the United States according to a Resolve of Congress. We have long expected an Ordinance of Congress for the Keepers of the Loan Offices to Consolidate all the Certificates and give Notes for One Years Intrest, which should be Received by the Collectors in Payment of the said Tax. This Measure I am informd is perplexed in Congress on Purpose to keep the Publick Creditors on the side of the Ministerial Plan. How do you approve the Resolve for establishing Two Federal Towns, Trentown and George Town on the Potomock. in my Opinion they have

overturned every Argument that could be adduced for the permanent Residence of Congress.

By what I have wrote; you will conclude I am an opposer of all the Measures Recommended by Congress. I assure you it is far otherwise. I am for abiding by the Confederation strictly, it has carri'd us Triumphantly thro' a long and Bloody War, and where can be the necessity of Investing that Body with more extensive powers in a Time of Peace, this Doctrine must be contrary to the Experience of all Nations. I wish to hear that all Party disputes are Banished from Congress, and that the Honour and Happiness of the Nation alone takes up and occupyes their whole attention. then may we hope for good Days indeed.

We expected the Pleasure of a Visit from you and your good Lady, but the cause that prevented must be submitted to. we shall hope for the fulfilment of the promise when the Pleasant Season for Jorneing returns.

Mrs. Bowen presents her best Compliments to Mrs. Warren and your self. you will both please to Accept myne. also Remember us affectionately to the Young Gentlemen Your Sons, and Believe that I am with sentiments of the greatest Esteem Your Obedient and verry Humb Servant,

JABEZ BOWEN

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *Feby.* 26th, 1784

MY DEAR SIR, — Since my last which went by Mr. Temple, I have had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 10th Sepr. by Mr. Thaxter. The Approbation of your Country is as Extensive as it ought to be, that is, universal; but as there remains now no Expectation of your return here before another Election, I dare say we shall not be Embarrassed by the Modesty of our present first Magistrate. Whatever Qualities he may want in the Opinion of others, he is himself a Stranger to any deficiencies and never once thought the duties too Arduous for him, or the honour too high, or the situation too delicate. he has, however, lately threatened us

with a Resignation. he was either Affronted that the General Court the last Sessions did not answer his Speech, or he took it in his head that he would be a great Man as well as General Washington.[1] he proclaimed his design in all Companies with great formality and summoned his Council to receive it. they met. he altered his resolution and we continue as happy as ever in his Administration. his Character is neither stained with ridicule or Contempt, a privilege peculiar to himself. The General Court is now sitting, but I hear of nothing very important yet done. no stable provision is yet made for paying the Interest of the National Debt. I hope it will never be by an Impost, but I wish it were done in some more secure way. but it appears to me that the States want Confidence in the Administration. it must be taken out of Morris' hands, the Treasury put in Commission by rotation, and then I believe ways and means will be found, especially if this last measure should be attended with strict and Impartial justice to the several States. I have not heard lately from Congress, but I presume from the Character I have of the Members, their foreign policy will in future be conducted in a different Stile, and that the old man's arts will not be so successful as usual. they talk of an adjournment in April. Good Providence has so ordered for our own Good that Sullivan has resigned and the Court unanimously chose Mr. Dana a Delegate in his room. the resignation was very fortunate and the Choice as Judicious. Mr. Dana dined with me about ten days ago and will go on soon, if Congress does not adjourn.

I wish it had been convenient for you and your Country to have returned and taken up your residence here, and joined with me in the Cultivation of the pleasant Hills in Braintree and Milton. but instead of that you are Calling away your Family. Your Father Smith is Dead.[2] Coll. Quincy will live but a few days.[3] Mr. Cranch and Family may go to Boston, and we be left solitary on our Hill. what delays your Treaty of Commerce with Britain. I suppose want of Instructions from Congress; but I am sure the

1 On December 23, 1783, Washington had resigned his Commission in an address to the Continental Congress.

2 Died September 17, 1783.

3 Josiah Quincy, died March 3, 1784.

best that could be given might be Compleated in a minute by referring the whole to your discretion. The delay may create difficulties by giving time to prejudice to grow and rancle from the Conduct and narrow Policy of Britain, who will never grow wise from Prosperity or Adversity.

I am told that Penobscot is Evacuated. the Commanding Officer after applying to our Government for a Commission to some Person to receive the delivery of the place and waiting in vain, went off at last, after having burned the Barracks, etc., which we seemed to care nothing about. I think he did right. Mrs. Warren desires her regards to you. we are all well, except Charles, who is in a dangerous situation. You have not given me a single hint for the Improvement of the Noble Science of Husbandry since you have been in Europe. do you reserve them all for your own use, that you may Excel us in that Art on your return, as much [as] you have done in Politics abroad. I am with Great Esteem your Friend and Servant,

J. Warren

March 10th. Congress have made their Recommendations to the several States, agreeable to the Treaty. A Committee of the General Court have it under Consideration, but it is said will not report this Session. Nothing seems to be a more General Subject of Conversation than the Cincinnati Clubb. People seem not to have considered the nature and dangerous tendency of the Institution till they were roused and alarmed by a Pamphlet wrote in So. Carolina, said by Mr. Burke,[1] which I would enclose if the Expense of postage would not be too great. The most (?) of the People, in N. England more especially, have manifested great uneasiness at the half pay for Life to the Officers of the Army, since commuted for five years pay; but the uneasiness seemed to be subsiding till Irritated to fresh resentment by this Institution. County Conventions and Town Meetings are now frequently expressing their Resentments and determinations to pay no Taxes

1 Ædanus Burke's *Considerations on the Society, or Order of Cincinnati*, published in Charleston over the signature of "Cassius" and reprinted in Philadelphia, New York, Hartford and Newport. No edition appears to have been printed in Boston. The authorship was soon discovered.

for the Commutations. The Officers, I think, deserve some such Consideration; but then they should be content in other respects to be on a footing with their fellow Citizens, without claiming any distinctions that are Invidious now and may be dangerous hereafter. Miss Nabby is here on a Visit, and I dare say you will hear from her mamah by this opportunity. Coll. Quincy died last Week. Adieu. I am as above.

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *June* 1, 1784

SIR, — This will be handed you by a person [1] who will insure the welcome did it come from one who has much less claim to your Friendship than the writer. at the same time her communications will render any other needless from your American Friends. this therefore is only a Line in Testimony of my Respects and Regards, though if I was to indulge my pen it would be very expressive of my wishes for your Early Return to your Native Country, where perhaps your abilities are as much wanted and your Exertions might be as serviceable as in any Department you may fill in Europe. Yet I cannot say you would be more happy here, but I think your Conduct has evinced to the World that this is but a secondary Consideration with you.

You will be too Happy when you receive this to make it of any Consequence whether another Line is added. May the Felicity of my Friend be equal to their wishes, nor mared by a Common Course of Human events, more than is necessary in a state of Moral Discipline. some little interruptions we must feel to ease our presumption, and some greater we have always to fear to Remind us of our Dependence. *Dependence* is a word not very pleasing to an American ear. But, though we have broken the yoke of Britain and defy the potentates of the Earth, we must not, we cannot expunge it from our Vocabulary. our happiness Depends on too many Contingencies to suffer us to forget our weakness and our intire Dependence on the Great Font of Felicity for the smallest

1 Mrs. Adams.

stream of enjoyment. What Language is this to a Man of the World, to a Minister of State, immersed in the Deep Systems of Political Refinement among the Nations, improved by Arts, Erudition and Experience, caressed in the Courts of Princes amidst the splendor of Greatness, the Glass of Pomp and all the Pageantry of Ambition, unshackled by a want of power for the Zenith of indulgence. But when I address the Embassadeur I do not forget that I write to the Philosopher, to one who can contrast the Rational simplicity and the quiet Delight of his own little Villa at the foot of Pens Hill with the Briliancy of the Birth night or the parade of office, and find the latter sink in the comparison when tryed by the Feelings of the Man, not by the Rivalry of Pride. Sure I am that were you to behold the Variegated Beauties which the summit of Milton this Day exhibits to the Eye of Reason and Gratitude, you would heave one sigh for the tranquil hour of Contemplation in some Delightful Recess

Where the free soul looks down and pities Kings.

Mr. Warren intends writing. if anything prevents yet be assured he is the same Friend to his Country, to Virtue, to all Honest Men, consequently invariably yours, that he was when you Laboured together, planted, hastened and matured the seed of a most Glorious Revolution. few, very few, of the first capital hands Remain with us. Death, Desertion, indifference or Foreign Employments, have left him almost alone. But the Recollection and Feeling of Conscious Rectitude is the best Companion of declining years.

Though I expect much communication from my Friend, Mrs. Adams, yet from your Punctuality and long experienced Friendship I hope my Pleasure will be enhanced by a Line from yourself to yours Respectfully and affectionately

M. Warren

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

THE HAGUE, *June* 30, 1784

DEAR SIR, — Your amiable Son, has done me the favour of his Company, here, for a Day or two, and this Morning goes to Amsterdam, intending to return to England at the End of the Week. From London He embarks soon for Lisbon. My Son [1] returned with him from London where I sent him to meet his Mother and Sister. But he was dissapointed as well as I. I still expect Mrs. Adams every day: but her last Letters, (those by your Son) leave me still room to doubt — in short, every Thing public and private, in which I have been concerned has been so much in doubt, and suspence, ever since the Peace, that if I have not learned to reconcile myself to any Thing, it is because I am not a Philosopher. I now repent having written for my Family, and that I had not gone home. Yet I ought not to repent because, it was Bono publico, that induced me to resolve to stay in Europe, to try, if I could execute a Commission which Congress promised to me, F[ranklin] and J[ay], and have not performed, "une Perfidie très permise dans un Grand Roi," as Voltaire says of the King of Prussia.

Jay is minister of foreign Affairs. This is a great Point gained in favour of our Country. Wisdom and Virtue have tryumphed, for once. And I hope and believe, he will give an entire new Cast, to the Complexion of our foreign Affairs, and you may depend upon it, that for some time to come as for a long time past, the Character and the System of our Country has been entirely decided by our foreign affairs.

If I had not been very sensible of this, you would never have heard of me a second time across the Atlantic. if I had not been very sensible of this, you would have seen me at Milton again or heard of me in a British Dungeon four years ago. My kind Respects to Mrs. Warren and all your Family. Your Friend,

JOHN ADAMS

1 John Quincy Adams.

ARTHUR LEE TO JAMES WARREN

NEW-YORK, *Augt* 8th, 1784

DEAR SIR, — I have long hoped for the pleasure of hearing from you, if it were only to inform me that your family and our friends are well. The political Sea appears to be perfectly calm with you, and indeed so it is every where. Repose, after such scenes of turbulence and agitation as were experienced for some years, seems to be the general wish. Had not the Cincinnati agitated us a little, we shoud have been sound asleep.

Give me leave to introduce to you and to Mrs. Warren, Mr. Blake, Mr. Middleton,[1] Mr. Kean [2] and Mr. Heyward,[3] gentlemen of consideration from South Carolina, who travel to see their sister States in the East. I wish there was more intercourse of this kind, to remove prejudices and cultivate harmony among us. Mr. H. Laurens arrivd here two days ago. He is in good health and spirits after all his sufferings. He brings some pamphlets in which the anti-american reveries of Dean and Galloway, publishd by Ld. Sheffeild [4] are fully reported. The King of England and Mr. Pitt, he thinks, are well disposd towards a commercial treaty with America. I am persuaded, that, with the downfal of the Coalition, these incendiaries will be extinguished.

We hear that Mrs. Hayley [5] and Mrs. Graham,[6] are with you. I beg the favor of you to present them my respects. No choice of Consuls has been yet made, nor can be till Congress meet again.

I am now, on my way to hold treaties with the Indian Nations, if troops can be raisd in time, to garrison the western posts, of which I despair very much. What is done with the Continental State paper issued by your State? Is its redemption provided for, and what credit is it in? I have heard nothing of the Land that was to be located for me, and begin to dispair of its ever taking effect. If any thing is, or is likely to be done, I shall be glad to be

1 Arthur Middleton (1742–1787).
2 John Kean (c. 1756–1795).
3 Thomas Heyward, Jr. (1746–1809).
4 John Baker Holroyd, Earl of Sheffield (1735–1821), whose *Observations on the Commerce of the American States* reached a sixth edition in a year.
5 Mary, widow of George Hayley, a merchant of London with American connections.
6 Catherine Macaulay Graham (1731–1791).

informd of it. A letter for me enclosd to the Chairman of the Committee of Congress, Annapolis will be forwarded to me.

Please to present my best respects to Mrs. Warren, and remember me to your Son, Mr. Bowdoine and Mr. S. Adams. Farewell.[1]

A. Lee

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

Auteuil, near Paris, *September* 5th, 1784

Although I have not yet written to you, be assured, Madam, you have been the subject of some of my most pleasing thoughts: the sweet communion we have often had together, and the pleasant Hours I have past both at Milton, and Braintree I have not realized in Europe; I visit, and am visited; but not being able to converse in the language of the Country, I can only silently observe Manners and Men. I have been here so little while that it would be improper for me to pass Sentence, or form judgments of a People from a converse of so short duration. this I may however say with truth that their Manners are totally different from those of our own Country. If you ask me what is the Business of Life here? I answer Pleasure. The Beau Monde you reply; ay, Madam, from the Throne to the footstool, it is the Science of every Being in Paris, and its environs. it is a matter of great Speculation to me, when these People labour. I am persuaded the greater part of these people who crowd the Streets, the publick walks, the Theatres, the Spectacles as they term them, must subsist upon Bread and Water. In London the Streets are also full of People, but their Dress, their Gait, every appearance indicates Business, except upon Sundays, when every Person devotes the Day, either at Church or in walking as is most agreeable to his fancy: but here from the gayety of the Dress, and the Places they frequent I judge Pleasure is the Business of Life. we have no days with us, or rather in our Country by which I can give you an Idea of the

1 A letter from John Adams to James Warren, August 27, 1784, is in *Writings of John Adams*, IX. 524.

Sabbath here; except Commencement and Election; Paris upon that day pours forth all her Citizens into the environs for the purposes of recreation. we have a Beautiful wood, cut into walks, within a few rods of our dwelling, which upon this Day, resounds with Musick and Dancing, jollity and Mirth of every kind. In this Wood Booths are erected, where cake, fruit, and wine are sold. here Milliners repair with their gauzes, ribbons and many other articles in the pedling Stile, but for other purposes I imagine, than the mere sale of their Merchandize; but every thing here is a subject of merchandize.

I believe this Nation is the only one in the world who could make Pleasure the Business of Life, and yet retain such a relish for it, as never to complain of its being tasteless or insipid; the Parisians seem to have exhausted Nature, and Art in this Science; and to be *triste* is a complaint of a most serious Nature.

What Idea my dear Madam can you form of the Manners of a Nation one city of which furnishes (Blush o, my sex when I name it) 52,000 unmarried females so lost to a Sense of Honour, and Shame as publickly to enrole their Names in a Notary Office for the most abandoned purposes and to commit iniquity with impunity: thousands of these miserable wretches perish annually with Disease and Poverty, whilst the most sacred of institutions is prostituted to unite titles and Estates. In the family of Monsieur Grand who is a Protestant I have seen a Decorum and Decency of Manners, a conjugal and family affection, which are rarely found, where seperate apartments, seperate Pleasures and amusements shew the world that Nothing but the Name is united. But whilst absolutions are held in estimation and Pleasure can be bought and sold, what restraint have mankind upon their Appetites and Passions? there are few of them left in a Neighbouring Country amongst the Beau Monde, even where dispensations are not practised. which of the two Countries can you form the most favourable opinion of, and which is the least pernicious to the morals? that where vice is Licenced: or where it is suffered to walk at large soliciting the unwary, and unguarded as it is to a most astonishing height in the Streets of London and where virtuous females are frequently subject to insult. in Paris no

such thing happens, but the greatest Decency and Respect is shown by all orders to the female Character. The Stage is in London made use of as a vehicle to corrupt the Morals. in Paris no such thing is permitted, they are too Polite to wound the Ear. in one Country, vice is like a ferocious Beast, seeking whom it may devour: in the other like a subtle Poison secretly penetrating and working destruction. in one Country you cannot travel a mile without danger to your person and Property, yet Publick executions abound; in the other your person and property are safe; executions are Rare. but in a *Lawful way*, *Beware*, for with whomsoever you have to deal, you may rely upon an attempt to overreach you. In the Graces of motion and action this People shine unrivalled. the Theatres exhibit to me the most pleasing amusement I have yet found; the little knowledge I have of the Language, enables me to judge here, and the actions to quote an old phrase, speak louder than words. I was the other Evening at what is called the French Theatre (to distinguish it from several others) it being the only one upon which tragedies are acted. here I saw a piece of the celebrated Racine, a sacred Drama called Athalia. the dresses were superb, the House Elegant and Beautiful, the Actors beyond the reach of my pen. The Character of the high-Priest admirably well supported and Athalia, would have shown as Sophonisba, or Lady Macbeth: if the term *shine*, may be applied to a Character full of Cruelty and Horrour: to these publick Spectacles (and to every other amusement) you may go, with perfect security to your Person and property; Decency and good order, are preserved, yet are they equally crowded with those of London, but in London, at going in and coming out of the Theatre, you find yourself in a Mob: and are every Moment in Danger of being robbed; in short the term John Bull which Swift formerly gave to the English Nation, is still very applicable to their Manners; the cleanliness of Britain joined to the civility and politeness of France, would make a most agreeable assemblage: you will smile at my Choice, but as I am like to reside sometime in this Country, why should I not wish them the article in which they are most deficient.

It is the established Custom of this Country for Strangers to

make the first visit; not speaking the Language lays me under embarassments, for to visit a Lady, merely to bow to her, is painful especially where they are so fond of conversing, as the Ladies here generally are, so that my female acquaintance is rather confined as yet, and my residence 4 miles from Paris will make it still more so. There are four American Ladies who have visited me, Mrs. Barclay,[1] with whom I have a Friendship and whom I can call upon at all times without Ceremony, and who is an excellent Lady; a Mrs. Price, a canadian Lady, Mrs. Valnais, and Mrs. Bingham.[2] Mrs. Bingham is a very young Lady, not more than twenty, very agreeable, and very handsome: rather too much given to the foibles of the Country for the mother of two Children,[3] which she already is.

As to politicks, Madam, the world is at Peace, and I have wholly done with them. Your good Husband and mine would speculate upon treaties of Commerce, could they spend their Evenings together, as I sincerely wish they could, or upon what they love better, agriculture, and Husbandry; which is become full as necessary for our Country. This same surly John Bull is kicking up the Dust and growling, looking upon the fat pastures he has lost, with a malicious and envious Eye, and though he is offered admission upon Decent Terms, he is so mortified and stomachful, that although he longs for a morcel, he has not yet agreed for a single Bite.

This Village of Auteuil,[4] where we reside is four miles from Paris, and one from Passy, a very pretty Summer retreat, but not so well calculated for Winter: I fear it will prove as cold as Milton Hill; if I was to judge of the Winters here by what I have experienced of the fall I should think they were equally severe as with us. we begin already to find fires necessary.

During the little time I was in England, I saw more of the curiosities of London than I have yet seen of Paris so that I am not able to give you any account of any publick Buildings or

1 Wife of Thomas Barclay, one of the Continental Commissioners for settling accounts in Europe.

2 Anne Willing of Philadelphia.

3 The elder daughter, Anne Louisa, married in 1798, Alexander Baring, later Lord Ashburton (1774–1848), and the younger, Maria Matilda, married (1) James Alexander, comte de Tilly (1764–1816), (2) Henry Baring and (3) the Marquis de Blaisel.

4 See *Writings of John Adams*, IX. 524.

amusements, except the Theatres of which I shall grow very fond, as soon as I am mistress enough of the Language to comprehend all the Beauties of it. there are three theatres in Paris constantly open, but that upon which tragedies are acted is the most pleasing to me. Corneille, Racine, Crébillon and Molière are very frequently given here. upon the Stage the best pronunciation is to be acquired. There is a Mrs. Siddons in London, who is said to be the female Garrick of the present day. I had not the happiness to see her when I was in London, as she was then in Ireland, but I saw no actors upon their Stage, which by any means equal those which I have met with here. The People of this Country, keep up their intercourse with each other by dining together after which they repair to the Theatres and to the publick walks.

I sigh (though not allow'd) for my social tea parties which I left in America, and the friendship of my chosen few, and their agreeable converse would be a rich repast to me, could I transplant them round me in the Village of Auteuil, with my habits, tastes and Sentiments, which are too firmly rivetted to change with change of Country or Climate, and at my age the greatest of my enjoyments consisted in the reciprocation of Friendship.

How is my good friend Charles? finely recovered I hope. I do not despair of seeing him here, and at this house he may be assured of a welcome whenever he wishes to try the air of France. Gay Harry, has he got more flesh and Health? Grave Mr. George is well I hope, and fixed in some business to his mind. Let not my esteemed Friend the eldest of the Brothers, think I have forgotten or neglected him by naming him last. his tenderness for his Brothers, and his better Health will excuse me, if I have been guilty of a breach of order. he will accept my good wishes for his Health and Prosperity without regard to place.

Shall I ask General Warren how farming and Husbandry flourish; I thought often of him, and the delight he would have received in a Journey from Deal to London. the rich variety of grass and Grain, with which that Country was loaded as I rode through it, exhibited a prospect of the highest cultivation. all Nature look'd like a Garden; the Villages around Paris are pleasant: but neither the Land, nor the cultivation equal a neighbouring Nation.

When you see our good Friend Madam Winthrop, be pleased to make my regards to her; you will also remember me to your Neighbours at the foot of the Hill; and let me hear from you by every opportunity, as the correspondence of my Friends is the only compensation I can receive for the loss of their Society.

Is Polly married? Happiness attend her and her partner if she is. to Mr. and Mrs. Otis, to one and all of my dear Friends be kind enough to remember me; the truth of one Maxim of Rochefoucault I experience "that absence heightens rather than diminishes those affections which are strong and Sincere."

December 12th. You will see, my dear Madam, by the date of the above, that my Letter has lain by long, waiting a private conveyance. Mr. Tracy and Mr. Jackson, design to return to London this week and I shall request the favour of them to take charge of it. Since it was written there have been some changes in the political world, and the Emperor has recalled his Ambassador from the United Provinces. Every thing seems to wear an Hostile Appearance. the Dutch are not in the least intimidated but are determined at all events to refuse the opening of the Scheld to the Emperor. this Court is endeavouring to Mediate between the Emperor and the Dutch. when the affair was to be debated in the Kings Counsel, the Queen said to the Count de Vergennes, "M. le Comte, you must remember that the Emperor is my brother." "I certainly shall Madam," replied the Count, "but your Majesty will remember that you are Queen of France."

Thus much for Politicks. you ask about treaties of Commerce. Courts like Ladies, stand upon Punctilios and chuse to be address'd upon their own ground I am not at Liberty to say more.

This is the 12th of December, and we have got an American Snow Storm. the climate is not so pleasant as I expected to find it; I love the cheerful Sun shine of America, and the Clear blue Sky.

Adieu my dear Madam. I have so much writing to do, that I am, tho unwillingly obliged to close requesting my Son to copy for me: you will not fail writing soon to your Friend and humble Servant.[1]

ABIGAIL ADAMS

1 The body of the letter is in the writing of John Quincy Adams. A letter from John Adams to Mercy Warren, December 13, 1784, is in *Writings of John Adams*, IX. 528.

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *Jany.* 28th, 1785

MY DEAR SIR, — I Received your favour of the 27th August sometime ago, and Intended before this to have wrote to you; but want of direct conveyance and some other Circumstances have prevented.

I am very Glad to find my Friends so agreeably situated at Auteuil. At the same time the preference given to the Hills of Penn and Neponsit give me an additional pleasure by affording a prospect of once more seeing them in their Neighbourhood. I always feel your Mortification when the reduction of your Salaries took place. the measure was unexpected and astonishing. I had never heard of a proposal of the kind and I considered it as a finess under the popular masque of œconomy to answer particular purposes, which general and good policy would not warrant. my Enquiries have Convinced me of the Justness of my own Sentiments. I suppose it originated from the then Premier, the King, or Grand Monarch of America,[1] and was designed to get rid of those Men who were Employed abroad, and could not be brought into a support of foreign Measures, and those of the Aristocracy here, which were closely united and made a Common Cause, in support of which the most refined Intrigue has been practised, and at Times and in some Instances deceived and duped some very good Men. I presume our Friend Gerry was in Opposition to this measure, because his Penetration and rectitude has always secured him against their Artifice. But this is Conjecture. I have never heard the Matter from him. But I hope this matter will be reconsidered and all honest men have Justice done them. Congress seems at present to be well disposed. they have got clear of that sink of Corrupt Influence which so long Contaminated some of their measures, and, God be thanked, have substituted a Board of Treasury in the stead of the *super Intendant* of Finnance, an Office which made rapid strides to Dominion, and if the cautious Wisdom of R. Island, by Negativing the proposed Impost, had not prevented, would soon have found a King for us. And this

1 Robert Morris.

Board, too, is guarded by a rotation, that best, if not only security (in this stage of Manners more particularly) for public Liberty. Everything that relates to the Movement of Congress you will have more Compleately from the place of their residence than I can give you from here. In this place the System of Politics remains much as it has been; the same Imbecility, the same servility and the same Inattention still prevail and are likely to continue. Money is the only object attended to, and the only Acquisition that commands respect. Patriotism is ridiculed; Integrity and Ability are of little Consequence. Foreign Commerce has extended itself beyond its natural supports and, by its Extravagant Imports greatly Exceeding the Exports, drained off all the Money, embarrassed itself, and every other resource of the Country, while Luxury keeps pace with the manners of older and more affluent countries. some checks by the denial of Credit in Europe may give time to the rising Fisheries and other Staples of the Country to form a Ballance to the Evils we now suffer. The Bank here has not been of any service to us. it has rather facilitated the Exportation of Money and Increased the Exorbitancy of Interest, or rather of Usury, which had before reached such a Stage of Enormity as would have disgraced the Jewish Usurers in any Country of the world, and must in a short time put an End both to Trade and the Cultivation of Lands.

I am always happy to receive your Letters and shall be obliged by any Information of what is passing on the great Theatre of Europe. I shall readily embrace any Opportunity to Inform you of anything you wish to know from here, and shall do it with the Fidelity of the Friendship I profess. . . .

J. Warren

29th. Our first Magistrate[1] has this day made a formal Resignation. When we shall get another without a new Election I can't tell.

1 Hancock.

JOHN ADAMS TO JAMES WARREN

AUTEUIL, near PARIS, *April* 26, 1785

DEAR SIR, — I see by the publick Papers that Mr. Hancock has resigned, and I suppose you have just passed through the Bustle of a new Election. it is a question here among us Americans Who? General Warren, Mr Bowdoin, Mr Cushing and General Lincoln, are in nomination. But we cannot elect you know and therefore nobody says who he would vote for. We all agree that there is danger of less Unanimity than in the last. I know so well the Influence of Boston that I believe it will be a Boston Man, but which of the two I know not.[1]

But to something in which it is more proper for me to intermeddle. Temple,[2] your Friend, is appointed Consul General, but whether he has yet imbarked for N. York where I suppose his Residence will be I know not. As much depends upon his Character and Conduct, both to Great Britain and America, it is a matter of Importance that he should be well advised, and I believe that no American has more regard for him than you have or more Influence with him. He is not without Knowledge in General and has had peculiar Opportunities for knowing the Commerce of America, and has numerous Acquaintances, some Friends and powerful Connections in America. I believe him to be in general a Well-meaning Man, and if his office depended upon a genteel Behaviour he would be very well qualified. But, he values himself much upon a Knowledge of Courts which he has not, and he looses himself too much in Ceremonies and Forms to be a great Master of Substance and Essence. He is not a prudent Man, and has the most confused Conceptions of the public opinion and of the Reasonings upon which it is founded, and of the real Springs and motives of Events of any Man of so much sense and experience I ever saw.

Such a Character therefore in my Opinion, if his Friends do not advise him, will be in danger of doing much Mischief to the publick altho he may be sure of making his own Career very short. If

1 James Bowdoin was elected governor.
2 John Temple (1732–1798), married in 1767 Elizabeth, daughter of James Bowdoin.

he goes on with those Airs of Mystery, and suffers his own Conduct to be equivocal or liable to two Interpretations, if he enters into personal Disputes without a manifest necessity, or brings on needless questions with Congress or its Members, or the States or Governors, with French or Dutch or other foreign Consulls or Ministers, or subjects or starts and presses too hastily, indiscreet Claims for his Master, he will soon destroy himself altho he may previously do great harm. He is now an Englishman, and a servant of his King. let him then make no Pretensions as an American, because they will not be admitted and will only expose him. He must proceed Slowly, Softly and smoothly. He must support the Rights of his Master and the English Nation, but he must allow the Rights of all others. He is now in the right Road. He was the servant of the King and should have always looked to him and him alone for Service, unless he had renounced his Service more decidedly and engaged more clearly than he did against him.

My son will deliver you this. He has corresponded for sometime with yours at Lisbon and will give you the News of him. I have seen with Pleasure this Friendship forming, and hope there will be more formed in America between him and the sons of those Persons with whom I have passed my Life in Harmony, and acted in Concert for the Publick.

It is long since I had a Letter from you, or Mrs. Warren to whom I pray you to present my best Regards. Mrs. Maccaulay and Mrs. Warren I suppose have compared Notes of the History of Liberty on both sides the Atlantic.

By the last Letters from America, it appears probable that the Dr's Resignation will be accepted; an Event which will make a great Change in our foreign Affairs. No Man that I know would be likely to conduct them better here than his Successor Mr. Jefferson. yours, etc.,

J. Adams

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON HILL, *April* 27th, 1785

I thank you, Sir, for your Favour of the 24th December. I take up my pen to acknowledge it and to Congratulate you on your Domestic Felicity in the last eight months, but shall not direct to you at the pleasant Villa of Auteuil, but to the Court of London, as it is probable before this you and your Family have left the Residence of the distinguished Literati of France, perhaps for the Grotto of Pope, or some more elegant spot immortalised as the abode of British Genius. For whom the Americans have and would long continue a predilection, did not both the ministry and the people practice every method of allienation. Yet possibly more conciliating measures may be adopted before the Negotiation is far advanced. The Mercantile Class are very angry. While the Republic Resents with Dignity the Late Restrictions on commerce, they would be happy to see every Nation in Europe take the same steps, provided we were thereby obliged to live within ourselves (which we can very well do) and had wisdom and Virtue to retain our own principles and manners, independently supporting a National Character Respected for the Simplicity, Magnanimity and Vigour. But alas! the Weakness of Human Nature. I fear we are already to far advanced in every species of Luxury to Recede, though much more than our political salvation depended on the Reform. An avidity for Pleasure has increased with our Freedom and a thirst of acquisition for its support pushes to the most dangerous Experiments. And though sensible it is owing to the Perversion of Reason, a Corruption of Taste and the Cravings of Artificial Necessity which causes the Restless pursuit of objects seldom attainable. Yet Neither the Reasonings of the Philosopher nor the maxims of Religion will bring back to that Mediocrity which ought to bound the wishes of Man, Either the people or the individual who has tasted the more Refined and Elegant accommodations of life.

But to whom am I writing. this moment cast my eye on a paragraph of yours. "I feel myself disposed to whine like Cicero in Exile." And is it possible that you, sir, after five or six years

spent in the most splendid Courts in Europe, can look back and sigh for the Retirement and simplicity of *Pens Hill*. if you Really do I pronounce you a Philosopher of the first Magnitude, and if ever you Volluntarily return to that style, I think you will have a right to stand foremost in the list of Genuine Republicans. You will at least have a right to equal Claim to some deserving Badge Emphatically expressive of ancient Patriotism, as any of the Noble Order of the Cincinnati. I dare not say more than equal least I speak Treason.

A late Resignation you have doubtless heard off. And had you been with us when the period of annual Election Revolved, it is probable your Country would have manifested some tokens of Gratitude by giving you their Suffrages for the first office of State. Yet there is no dependence on the popular Voice. there would have been a manœuvring against it, least you should have held it too long for the convenience of another who means to come in again the next year.

There is such a blind Attachment to this man of *straw* that I have little doubt he will have the opportunity of establishing himself for life — perhaps the power of entailing an Hereditary succession. if that should be the Case many would cry "*Come over into Macedonia and help us*," for I cannot suppose you think we are *yet* ripe for Monarchic Government.

I am very sorry you complain so much of your eyes; yet I dare say your optical Faculties are still strong enough to discover and, I hope, to remove many Political Errors on each side the Atlantic.

But why do I spend a Moment on these Subjects. I have not one to loose when Duty does not Direct to some Point of Utility, or the social affections interest from the part those have to act with whom we are tenderly connected.

But before I conclude you, sir, will give me leave to observe that I have lived long enough to be convinced that we must pass through the world ourselves in order to know it thoroughly. Neither the Page of History nor the experienced lessons of those who have gone before us can investigate the Character of Man or Develope the Human Mind till we see the Blunders of public and

feel the ingratitude and Baseness of private Men. The one I doubt not you will allways be quick sighted enough to discern; the other I wish you may never be thoroughly taught. For with all your thirst for science you will be Happier to die without the acquirement of this knowledge.

I have indeed seen Mrs. Macaulay. she has been treated in Boston and its Environs with every mark of Respect. she is a Lady of most Extraordinary talent, a Commanding Genius and Brilliance of thought. this in my opinion often outruns her capacity of Expression, which is often a little too prolix both in Conversation and Composition; or rather, the Periods are a little too lengthy to please at once. I dare say this will be corrected in future, as one of her American Friends had the Courage to tell her of it. she Replied she believed the observation just, as she had always aimed more at the investigation of truth than the ornaments of style. But I think in this age of Refinement the Graces of the Letter ought to soften the harshness of the Forms and prevent the mind from Fatigue while listening to the Humiliating story of Human Conduct.

We have a subscription out for an American Edition of her History down to 1744. it fills very fast and I dare say will succeed to her Wishes.

It was kind in you to wish the World would spread a Vail of Candour over a Circumstance you mentioned. Doubtless that Ladys Independency of spirit led her to suppose she might associate for the remainder of Life with an inoffensive obliging youth with the same impunity a Gentleman of three score and ten might marry a Damsel of fifteen.

Mr. Warren, perhaps, will not write by this ship. we had short Notice. He is going a Journey and the season requires his Care and attention — in his Private Walks. But in whatever Department or wherever he resides, be assured you have there a *Friend.* You know his attachments are strong and when he likes or dislikes, either men or measures, the shaking of a leaf will not alter his opinion.

We wish for some of your excellent long Letters, some in that style directed to him at Philadelphia, Depend upon it were not

useless, either to you or to your Country, though from a Concurrence of Circumstances he was not there.

I will not tell you his opinions with regard to our personal situation. He will do it himself ere long. He has wrote you very particularly several times since Mrs. Adams left us. I believe the intercourse will be more secure while you Reside in England — A pleasing Circumstance to your Friends, particularly to yours Respectfully

M. Warren

John Adams to Mercy Warren Adams mss.

Auteuil, *May* 6, 1785

Madam, — My Son would go home very improperly without a Letter to Mrs. Warren, whose Virtues and accomplishments his Father has so long admired.

The time is at length come in which the United States of America are to have a Minister at the Court of Great Britain, a time foretold by the Prophets and Seers, and Dreamers of Dreams, but never until very lately stedfastly believed by any to be so near at hand. It is much to be wished that they could have had one to general satisfaction in America, and more Respectable in many Points than the Person on whom the lot has fallen. It is Fortune and Figure, Birth and Grace, Titles and Ribbons, that make Impressions on Courtiers and succeed with the fair, as they say. This is true in a Sense. But how do they succeed? Why, to be earnestly courted to every Ball, every Entertainment, every Horse Race and Gaming Table, and perhaps to receive certain other Favours which shall be nameless, but all this at the Expense of incessant Fatigue and Chagrin, to the consumption of all his Time and an Inattention to Business and neglect of all his Duties. This is a success of which our Country has no occasion and for which her humble Minister has no Ambition. He has not the less Reason, however, to wish that he had more Advantages and better Qualifications for the Service, and above all that he had former Health and better Spirits, since he will probably meet with enough to try the strongest Nerves, if you consider the Groups

upon Groups of Tories and Refugees in that Country in the Variety of their Shapes and shades of their Colours, the Numbers of Emissaries from other parts of Europe, the Concourse of unexceptionable Americans, the impassioned English, Scotch and Irish, all watching his Motions and most of them wishing and contriving his Fall. Whatever lustre in the Eyes of some People there may be in the Feather of being the first Minister to England, you, Madam, will easily see that his Situation is more to be dreaded and pitied than envied.

All this, however, does not distress him. His Age is too far advanced and his Character too fixed, to have any Apprehension of being drawn into any intentional Fault, or imposed on to betray the Interest of his Constituents. He will therefore have no Penalties to apprehend but the loss of his Place, and to this Idea he is perfectly reconciled.

When shall I have the Pleasure to hear again of my Friend Warren in public? His Retreat has been a great Mortification and Misfortune to me. Yet I cannot blame him, for I catch myself wishing myself on the next Hill half a dozen times in a day. I hope, however, to hear by some of the next opportunities that he is again called to the Service of his Country. I am anxious to know if Mr. Dana is to be again in public at home or abroad. I hope he will not be suffered to retire too. Our Country has not such Characters to spare from her most important Employments.

I promise myself from Mr. Gerry's Attendance in Congress all those changes for the better in the Management of the general Affairs of the Union, which I have often seen proceed from the Clearness of his Head and the goodness of his heart. I know of scarcely any Man of more Address, more Industry or Perseverance. He never appeared in Congress without a great Influence. He deserves to stand higher in the Estimation of the Massachusetts than he has appeared to me at this distance to stand. He has merited more of that State than I am afraid they know of.

But I am wandering into Speculations which may be suspected of Impertinence. Be pleased to present my best Respects to Mr. Warren and believe me, with the greatest Esteem, Madam, your most obedient servant.

MARTHA WASHINGTON TO MERCY WARREN

MOUNT VERNON, *June the* 9th, 1785

MY DEAR MADAM, — I had the pleasure to receive your obliging letter of the 14th of april by Mrs. Macauly Graham — the kind expressions of which, added to the recollection of those days in which you honored me with your friendship, fill me with agreeable sensations, and will ever be dear to my remembrance.

I thank you for introducing a lady so well known in the literary world as Mrs. Macauly Graham, whose agreeable company we have had the pleasure of a few days. She now returns to make happy those whom she left.

The friendship which subsisted between General Warren and Mr. Washington will never be forgotten by the latter; it was among the first formed, and most lasting at Cambridge, and with equal pleasure would be renewed by him. why it has slept, the general cannot tell. he recollects writing a long letter to Genl. Warren in the year 1779, when the army were Cantoned on the Raritan near Bound Brook in the Jersys. since which, all intercourse by letter has ceased: tho friendship is the same.

He joins me in every good wish for you and General Warren, and begs me to add the strongest assurances of the sincear esteem and regard he has for you both. With sentiments of friendship and affection I am, Dear Madam, you obedt. and obliged.

M. WASHINGTON

CATHERINE MACAULAY GRAHAM TO MERCY WARREN

DEAR MADAM, — I think I hear you say, with all that animated severity which I acknowledge has sometimes offended the delicacy of your friend's sentiment, Well there is no trusting to the boasted sincerity of that idle Woman. how was I deceived when I believed her capable of the solid qualities of the mind, can patriotism dwell in a heart where friendship has no place, with what indifference of temper does she fly from society to society, pleased

with the present set of companions regardless of the past, how have I mistaken a plausibility of speech and diction for the real language of the heart.

Before you proceed any further in your observations, I must tell you, my Dear friend, that your vivacity has led you into an error that I have never forgotten or remembered with a cold indifference the many endearing obligations which we have received from our friends at Milton. That this is absolutely the first moment which I have been able to snatch from a crowd of company or from the fatigue of travelling to express those sentiments of esteem, of friendship, and of gratitude which I have always felt for Mrs Warren.

A variety of reasons have at length determined me to give up all thoughts of a subscription for a new publication of my history in this country.

The state of my health, inclines me to take the advantage of two or three years' residence in the mild and steady climate of the South of France and the delicacy of my sentiment urges me to leave my visit to the Americans free and unclogged with any considerations of interest.

I am informed by Mr. Gerry that your Son is returned from Hispaniola. I flatter myself that your Journey to Plymouth was made with the intention of establishing him in business in this place and consequently that his present state of health is equal to such an undertaking.

Had I resided any time in America I should undoubtedly have made Boston the seat of my residence, but as the calls of maternal affection and the interest of our families oblige us to a separate residence in different quarters of the Globe I shall with your leave continue our Epistolary correspondence when I am established in a Domestic way in France.

We must now take leave of you, my Dear Madam, as we are on the eve of our departure for France. we must beg the favor of you to preserve us a place in your affection and that you will remember us to the General, to the young Gentlemen of your family, and particularly to our sick friend; we also desire to be remembered particularly to Mr. Russel and his family. The uninterrupted

kindness and civility we have received from that polite benevolent man we shall not easily forget.

There are a variety of other people, my Dear Madam, who claim our attention from the civilities we have received from them we must beg of you to dispose of our compliments according to that propriety which is so evident in all your actions.

Enclosed you will find a letter from Mrs. Washington. I return you my thanks, Dear Madam, for the very kind remembrance which followed us to Providence. Our reception at Mount Vernon was of the most friendly and engaging kind we spent ten days very happily in one of the sweetest situations on the continent. The opinion we had formed of the illustrious owners was rather improved than lessened by that converse which our situation enabled us to enjoy. I am, Dear Madam, Your Affecnt. and Obednt. Servnt.

CATH. MACAULAY GRAHAM

NEW YORK, *July* 15, '85.[1]

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *Sept.*, 1785

The account of your son's arrival you will have from himself. the Pleasure his Friends receive from his return you will not doubt, and in every instance where my advice or attention may be either useful or pleasing, be assured I shall treat him as my own, not only from that long Friendship I have felt for his parents, backed by their particular Request, but from the affection I dare say his amiable manners will always secure.

That the Dreamers have augured and the Prophets long since foretold Mr. Adams would be the first American minister to the Court of Great Britain, is not more certain than the General satisfaction expressed in the Completion of this Event. And though it is a station attended with Difficulty and Fatigue, requiring much Delicacy and address, I have no doubt his abilities

1 A letter from James Warren to Washington, September 2, 1785, is printed in *Correspondence of the Revolution, Letters to Washington*, IV. 113.

and Perseverance are adequate to the important trust. Nor will the train of Emmissaries who delight in mischief affect his Reputation, Integrity or Vigilance, however Variegated in shape or shaded with such dazzling Light as might put out the Eye of one less firmly attached to the interest of his Country.

Yet there are few Characters so impeccable that there is no danger of loosing sight of their patriotism amidst the Golden mists which remarkably pervade a certain Island. speculatists have observed that this shining Fog is more or less apt to injure the Optics of the Greatest Politicians and statesmen. But neither Balls, nor Birth days, or the *Nameless* Favours that the Dignified splendor of either sex can bestow will, I trust, influence the Probaty of a Gentleman who long Braved the ordeal trial (even in the purlieus of a Brilliant Court), and that has stood the test for more than seven years amidst jarring Factions on each side the Atlantic, that would equally have rejoiced in his Fall.

I cannot see anything you, sir, have to dread from a late appointment. Nor have I penetration to discover anything pitiable in your situation. As to Envy I cannot be so explicit. it is a kind of canker worm that Generally crawls round the loftiest Branches and Grows meagre in the innutritious soil that Genders it. it is a Reptile that may infest but seldom destroy the Heart of Oak, and while you enjoy the Dignity of office may self-approbation ever counterballance the Malignancy of Rivalships. These may weaken the Hands but seldom depress the Heart of true Magnanimity.

Your next question is, when shall I again see my Friend Warren in public life. I answer, when Republics are Famed for their Gratitude and the Multitude learn to Discriminate; when they more Respect their Real Friends than they admire the popular Demagogue or the lukewarm adherents to public liberty, who have sacrificed nothing in the Cause and held the powerful Ballance of Wealth, which in all Countrys outweigh the shining qualities of Honest patriotism, and not before. He has never retreated from the service of his Country. Particular Circumstance which, I dare say, Mr. Adams would have thought weighty, led him at a certain period to decline several Honorary offices. this his En-

emies have industriously improved to prevent his Re-election, While his independency of spirit, supported by the Rectitude of his intentions, never suffered him to make the smallest Exertions to counteract. Yet Notwithstanding his fondness for private life, if his Country should ever again require his services, Depend upon it he will step forth with the same indefatigable Zeal and Integrity that has hitherto distinguished his Character.

Mr. Dana is appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. Mr. Warren bids me tell you he thinks this the only Circumstance that marks with any degree of Reputation the administration of Hancock. Mr. Gerry will not be eligable by the Confederation as a Delegate to Congress after November. I wish his Countrymen may never forget his Merits. But if his Happiness depended on their Favour, probably he might long pursue without ever overtaking the Phantom. But I have Reason to believe he means in future to build on the more solid Base of Domestic Felicity.

I fear your very eligable situation at the Court of London will Hush every Future sigh for the silent Hills in the Neighbourhood of Tremont, and, perhaps before you return to your Native Land, your Friends, who now ardently wish for your smiles, may stand in the Presence of a Monarch Infinitely superior to the Bustling potentates of this spot [?] of Creation.

Shall I ask the Favour of you, sir, to transmit by some safe Conveyance the enclosed to your young Friend in Lisbon, and shall I ask you if there is a Probability of a treaty with portugal. Nothing would have induced this young Gentleman to have fixed himself in a Country where the Religion, the Manners, and the Government are so different to the liberal Ideas in which he has been educated, but the promise of a consular appointment from many of the most Respectable Members of Congress. He has been long kept in suspence, because Congress do not appoint where no treaties are Formed, and, perhaps, there may yet be time for you to give a hint in his Favour, if you think his Merits and his Father's services deserve this small Consideration. I know you must be sensible this uniform Patriot has long laboured in the arduous struggle for the liberties of his Country: without any Emolument either of Honour or Profit to Himself or his

Family. a small appointment in a distant Country to an amiable son is a very inadequate Compensation for his Fatigues and his sufferings. You will excuse this Freedom of Communication from one who subscribes very Respectfully your Friend and Humble Servant

M. Warren

James Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Milton, *Septem.* 4th, 1785

Dear Sir, — When I used to be in Company with the Prophets and the Dreamers of Dreams, I could hardly realize that I should ever have the Honour and Pleasure of corresponding with an Ambassador at the Courts of Versailles, or London, and yet this Event among many other strange ones has taken Place. I receiv'd a few Days ago by the Hand of your admirable Son, yours dated Auteuil, April 26th, and know no Reason why I may not expect very soon another from London of a later Date, as the Publick Intelligence announces your Arrival there, with many Circumstances which indicate a Residence for some Time. How many Difficulties you will have to Combat in this new Employ can't easily be foreseen, while it is pretty clear you will have some. but I hope they will not be insurmountable to those Abilities and Experience which have already triumph'd over so many.

We have got through the Bustle of a new Election and after much Difficulty the Choice fell where probably you would have plac'd it. Mr. Bowdoin was chose by the two Houses and all is Peace, Tranquillity and Satisfaction. Mr. Hancock's Influence, which was great, was in favour of Cushing, more probably to keep a Door open for Himself at another Election, and by that means retrieve the Mistake he made in his Resignation, than from any other Principle. All other Parties were obliged to unite to defeat his Purposes, and he at last in Despair of his main Design, gave out that he did not care who was chose if it was not the Man on Milton Hill. If Ambition was my ruling Principle, and I was a

Politician, I should have shaken Hands with this *mighty* man; but as it is I will still be honest and continue to despise his Caprice, Incapacity, and Indolence, and do every Thing I can to prevent his again having it in his Power to disgrace this Government by an Administration of Imbecility and weakness. and if I enjoy none of the Honour and Emoluments of a Government, my vigorous Zeal and Steadiness for many Years had some Share in obtaining, I will be satisfied if the Man on Bacon-Hill does not. however, he has gain'd tho' at a second or third Voting a Choice of a Delegate, and has now in View the Presidency of Congress. he may get it; my Fears make me think it probable, while my Hopes blast his Expectations.

Mr. Temple has not yet arrived and when he does I don't know that my Regard for Him or Influence with Him will be so great as you seem to imagine. I was of Opinion that he was us'd ill by some People in this Country, and so far as Justice requir'd espous'd his Cause, while in general I agreed with you in the Character given of Him. His being a well-meaning Man, as you express it, cover'd a Number of Faults and engag'd me in the Line of conduct I observ'd. His present Employment has decided his Pretensions with Regard to America, and he should in future be unequivocally the faithful Servant of the King of Great Britain, and if I have any Influence I shall, when Opportunity presents, use it to make him as prudent as he should be faithful.

The Doctor's Resignation has been accepted and it is said he is on his Way to America. If his Letters and his Measures were Inimical to you in Europe, you may expect the same Line of Conduct will be pursu'd Here with more Facility than there, but perhaps with as little Success.

Your Son has visited me twice. Yesterday he din'd with me. I am much pleased with him and shall take Pains to cultivate a Friendship between Him and my Sons; from the Intimacy and confidence that has subsisted between the Fathers and the Mothers it seems a very natural one. he has promised to continue his Correspondence with Winslow and to visit us often. Tom I have not seen lately, but my favorite Charles spent a Night or two with us after Commencement. I would have them all con-

sider this as one of their Homes. I will say nothing to you of Congress. You have everything from them at first Hand. The foolish Extravagance of this Country has involved us in Confusion and Distress; when or how we shall be extricated I don't know. the Evil seems to be out of the Reach of present Œconomy or Frugality. The Scarcity of Money is beyond your Conception. Trade is stagnated, Lands will not sell. No Improvements can be made in Agriculture or Manufactures. Bankruptcies, and unexpected ones too, are Common. No Man can pay his Debts, and if the Moderation or good Policy of the Creditors does not prevent, Anarchy may be the Consequence. The late Acts of this Government laying enormous Duties and Illiberal Restrictions on other Foreigners besides British, as well as absurd ones on their own Trade, increases the Confusion and Distress.

When are we to expect the Completion of any Commercial Treaties and how does the Government of Britain seem dispos'd? Will you tell me? Mrs. Warren has not been well for some Time, has wrote you lately and intends writing to Mrs. Adams by this Opportunity if possible. Present my best Regards to Mrs. Adams, my Love to Nabby. I wish her in every Stage and Connection of Life all that Happiness her Amiable Qualities and Accomplishments entitle her to. Your Friend, etc[1]

J. Warren

James Warren to Elbridge Gerry

Milton, *Octr.* 4th, 1785

My dear Sir, — The Time approaches when you must leave Congress, however Contrary it may be to the Interest and wishes of your Constituents. When your Successors arrive at Congress. especially if H[ancock] is one of them, and more especially if he obtains the presidency, there will probably be an End of Winslow's Expectations. It always appeared to me a singular Resolution, that no Consuls should be appointed where there were no Commercial Treaties; and if it can be supported as a good general

1 The body of the letter is in another hand.

Rule, it should like other general rules be subject to some Exceptions, and Consuls appointed where the Trade was large, and the National disposition favourable. This is now the Case of Portugal, and besides we can hear of no kind of Obstacle to a Treaty, and yet none is made. It is a matter of Speculation here, why in the Course of more than 12 Months since Mr. Jefferson's Arrival, not one such Treaty has been made, especially when every Body is willing. Mr. Adams is gone to Britain. Mr. Jefferson remains at the Court of France. Dr. Franklin is retd. to America. Who is now to compleat this great Business, is another question that I am not able to answer, and if it is never done, are no Consuls to be appointed? Winslow would be much obliged by a Line from you. and I dare say frequent Oppys. present from New York. Mr. Low Corresponds with him, and will forward it without any trouble to you. I have not a word of News, not even Tittle Tattle to give you. H—— has got the Gout; whether it is a political, or natural fit, I dont know. If the former, he may have some reason to despair of the Presidency, and may wrap up in Baze, as a preparatory to a resignation when the Court meets. If every Body loved him as I do, they would save him that trouble, and excuse without the Expence of a single peice of Baze. I suppose by this Time Mr. Temple may be with you. He is now decidedly the Servant of the British King, and should be allowed to pursue his Interest. I hope prudence will direct him to pursue it smoothly and softly, without any disagreable Altercations with Congress, or any of the United States, or with any foreign Consuls or Ministers. So shall his days be long in the Land of his Nativity. Will you make my regards to your two Brethren, to your President and to my Friend Doctor Lee, and beleive me to be Yours sincerely,

J. Warren

I think a very singular Character is sent here to settle the marine Accounts. He is dark, reserved, disgusts every Body, affronts or ill treats all, is abused in return, and bears it as a dull Horse does a whip. His whole Time seems to be spent in finding, or makeing difficulties where there are none, and his motive, if I can trace it,

is to Continue in office. You may rely on it he will not finish this Business this six Years to come in the way he is in, and a Man of Abilities well disposed might do it in 3 Months. I suspect by way of Apology for himse[lf] he will represent our Accounts as irregular and Incompleat; but I can shew they are as much to the Contrary as the nature of things could admit off.

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *Octo.* 6th, 1785

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you very lately and very largely, without any interested views but what arise from the pleasure of Corresponding with a Man whose Confidence and Friendship I have long experienced and wish to continue. The design of this is to engage your Interest in a matter which I wish exceedingly to accomplish. Applications to great Men are Taxes which they must submit to. Your rank and Influence and the Claim I have on your Friendship are the only Apologies I shall make. I shall say nothing of the qualifications and Merits of my son Winslow. You know him and I flatter myself from some Circumstances that you have already formed a favourable Opinion of them.

He went to Lisbon with great and well-founded Expectations of being appointed the Consul there, and still remains there with such Expectations. Congress have delayed the Appointment until a Commercial Treaty should be formed. by a Letter from my friend Gerry last Evening I am Informed they now have it in Contemplation and probably will appoint the foreign Ministers and Consuls General, and leave the Appointment to the several Ports with them, and that Lisbon will fall into the department of Mr. Jefferson. Will you write to him and use your Influence to gratify me in the Acquisition of this small favour. if the profits of the office should not be large, it will give him Consequence, and assist him in his other Business. A disappointment would mortify and injure the feelings of a young Man, as well as give a Triumph to my Enemies after the matter has been so long talked of. I think I have done some services to my Country and had a con-

siderable Share (I mean for an Individual) in the American Revolution. if Winslow succeeds it will be the only reward to and the only place at present held or expected by any of the Family. You will make my sincere regards to Mrs. Adams and Love to Nabby, and believe me to be as usual with great Esteem your Friend, etc.

J. Warren

James Warren to Elbridge Gerry

Milton, *Octr.* 9th, 1785

My dear Sir, — Since my last which went by the Monday's Post, I am honoured by your Friendly and polite favour of the 27th Ulto. by which I learn that Congress are in a way to adopt a Mode for the Appointment of Consuls. Whether the Mode be so consistent with propriety, or dignity, as a direct one by themselves, is a subject out of the reach of a Plebean, occupied in the manureing and culture of the Field, but I think a Ploughman may discern that it is better than none, and therefore I hope it will succeed. I have taken your advice and wrote to Mr. Jefferson, and have engaged some of my Friends here to do it. I request my Friend Gerry to Interest himself in the same way; he is always the first on my List. my Opinion of his Abilities and Generosity have placed him there, and if that Situation gives him much Trouble, it at the same time gives me much confidence and pleasure. if the President, and any other Gentleman of Congress, will write in Winslow's favour, they would oblige me. I asked the favour of the G[overnor], the only favour I ever did, or will ask of one. he replied that he wished it to succeed, but that he had never corresponded. I dare say this is all true, but yet it was a strange Answer from a Man whose rank Intitled him to write to any Body. but it is characteristic. how much is a Man's Friendship to be Coveted, or his Enmity dreaded, who does not feel that Ardent Animating Glow, unrestrained by Timid Cautious Moderation, which will force him, as it were Mechanically to stretch out his Arm to serve a Friend, or blast an Enemy.

I think the Exchange you mention, will be a good one, but I am intirely in your sentiment with regard to the residence of foreign Ministers here. The Addresses you mention, and the Anecdotes are Curiosities I wish to see. My Compliments to all my Friends. I am Yours most Assuredly,

J. Warren

John Adams to Mercy Warren

Grosvenor Square, *Decr.* 12, 1785

Madam, — I am much obliged to you for your Letter and refer you to General Warren for what respects your son.

You suppose my present situation to be eligible and I confess it. I have it in my Power here to enjoy the society of Persons of great Worth, and if I please of high Rank, and if our publick Affairs here went well, I should not desire a better situation. but they do not.

A Lady, who was born at Gibraltar, came to England and Married a Man of Merit, Fortune and Rank. She had every Thing which this Country affords, to make Life agreable. Yet she used to say, it was true, that England was very clever, but it was nothing to be compared to Gib[raltar].

If the Circumstance of Birth and Education could give such an Attachment to that Barren Rock, it is not surprizing that I should be fond of my barren Mountain. Yet the World would laugh at me as well as the Lady of Gibraltar.

I have been so long agitated in the World, and puzzled with Business, that indeed I dont know, whether I should feel my Existence at Braintree, and My Eyes and my Health will not admit of Reading or Writing by Candle Light, so that I should want Amusement of Evenings, but the Care of a Farm, and Books and Papers in the Day, would Serve me very well. and as far as I can judge of my own Inclinations I had rather live in that Retirement, for my personal Enjoyment, upon one hundred a Year than at any Court in Europe upon five Thousand. It may be depended on then that I have no dread upon my Mind of being obliged to return and plant Cabbages at the foot of Penns hill.

The Dismall Accounts of the Misfortunes and Afflictions of our Friends in America, distress Us a good deal, but the Jewish avarice in the Loan of Money, which We hear of, much more. While such Interest can be obtained, much Property will be diverted from Trade. But this must have an End. The great Fish will have eaten all the little ones, and then they must look out for other Prey. The Multiplicity of Law Suits, is much like what I remember after the Peace of 1763, but when a certain Quantity of Property had shifted hands they diminished. it is generally agreed that our People have been imprudent and extravagant, but I hope that Profligacy and want of Principle have not taken any deep root. I wish it were in my Power to comfort them with any hopes of relief from this Country, but it is not. There is, instead of any Consideration of our Losses, Inconveniences, or Distresses, a visible and indecent Joy at all the Accounts of them. If Revenge is sweet our People will have it, in a few years, but that is no rational Consolation.

Captain Stanhope's Letters to the Governor, are by no means approved at this Court, as Congress will be informed Officially before this reaches you. With the greatest Esteem and respect I have the honour to be, Madam, your sincere Friend and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS

NATHANIEL GORHAM TO JAMES WARREN

NEW YORK, *March* 6, 1786

DEAR SIR, — Your esteemed favour of the 11th ulto. recd. and would observe in answer to the first part of it, that the Board of Treasury have (by order) laid before Congress a plan for expediting the settlement of the public Accounts [1] by which plan four or five thousand dollars will be Annually saved, and Mr. Pennet will consiquently be discharged, and some other Person employed for a short time to bring the accounts in that quarter to a close. but the great inattention and negligence of the States with regard

[1] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, March 24, 1786.

to their representation renders it impossible for Congress to pass upon this report and various other matters in which the wellfare of the Union is deeply interested — it being a money matter there being only seven States represented, R. Island Connecticut Delaware Maryland North Carolina and Georgia being absent. indeed the principle of the confederation as it respects representation and the mode of voting is calculated to encourage delinquency. there is no reason that Rhode Island, Delaware and Georgia should have equal weight in the federal councills with Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and if the representation had been apportiond according to numbers or property, and a suitable quorum established and the major vote to determine questions, this inattention would not exist. but as unanimity is now necessary upon the most trivial questions we feel all the inconveniences of the liberum Veto of a Polish Diet. the applications from our foreign creditors are of such a nature as to make a deep impression with Congress and they have thought it their duty again to call the consideration of the States to the subject of an Impost, more especially as the situation of N. York enables them so to Tax their Neighbours of Connecticut and N. Jersey as to create such a temper in those States as will greatly weaken if not destroy the Union. The Assembly of N. Jersey have lately entered into a resolution that they will not comply with the last or any future requisition of Congress untill N. York gives up their Impost or applys it for the general purposes of the Union. indeed there is nothing but the restraining hand of Congress, (weak as it is), that prevents N. Jersey and Connecticut from entering the lists very seriously with N. York and bloodshed would very quickly be the consiquence. but however N. Jersey may suffer by her paying taxes, for N. York her refusal to comply with the requisition is unjustifiable, and unless she recinds her resolution must work the end of all federal Government. Congress sent an express to demand an attested copy of the resolution. he returned with it last night. tomorrow it will be very seriously considered. but as N. Jersey is one of the seven States now on the floor they may perhaps embarràs Congress in their proceedings. they have however wrote in the most pressing manner for the attendance of the

delinquent States. Congress yesterday agreed on another application to the States on the subject of Commerce. it is plain from the whole tenor of Mr. Adams' letters, that unless Congress possess the power of restricting the British trade there is no probability of his being able to do any thing to purpose with that Court. I will endeavor as far as I am able to have an equitable adjustment of your account. we do not get any account of the President's state of health, we are therefore intirely at a loss when to expect him. Your Son Mr. Warren being returnd to Boston I inclose some letters which I red. under cover for him. please to make my best respects to Mrs. Warren and be assured that I am with esteem and regard your most Humble Servant,

NATHANIEL GORHAM

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *April* 30th, 1786

DEAR SIR, — I was a few days ago honoured with your favour of the 12th of Decr. I am much obliged to you for your Attention to my Son and your favourable, if not partial, Opinion of the Merits of his Family. Winslow left Lisbon and returned Home last fall, after a disagreeable residence there for more than Twelve months at a great Expense, fully convinced of the futility of Court promises, which his former Experience could no longer justify any future dependence upon. it has been my Opinion that Consuls should be appointed in several of the European Ports, and particularly at Lisbon, where we have had a great Trade till interrupted by the Algerine Corsairs. no resource is so natural and beneficial for the supply of that great Branch of Business, the Fishery, as the Trade with Lisbon and Cadiz, and I can scarcely conceive how it can be supported without it, unless by a dependence on foreigners for the Importation, which must defeat all the policy of our Navigation Acts, however founded in Policy or Œconomy. How we are to be relieved from the Injury of those Pirates I am at a loss to determine. their Generosity will not do it and our Poverty cant, and if it is not done the Fishery and Trade

must be depressed and discouraged. You who are acquainted with the Means the Agents to Algiers are possessed of can Judge of their prospects of Success. I can only wish them Success. I can form some Idea of the difficulty and delay of your Treaties which render their Completion uncertain even to the best Informed. The Trade with Britain, if it has been attended with the same loss and disappointment to them, has almost ruined us, and with their own Conduct may Justify a severe Navigation Act with regard to them. but I am not so well satisfied of the propriety of it with regard to any other Nation, tho' I think the policy of the French in their duty on our Fish and the Bountys on their own very absurd. I wish I could see for the Benefit of Mankind a fair Experiment made of a Government supported without Duties or Bounties. at least that they should operate only as prohibitions or severe restrictions, without any regard to a revenue. in that case even those in question might not have existed.

if our Oil can find a Market in France it will, I think, disconcert the views of the British Ministry and be very advantageous to us as well as to the Commerce of France. I took great pains to impress the Marquiss de Fayate with proper Sentiments on that subject when here last, and have reason from his Letters to suppose it has had a good Effect.

I know you wish to be Informed of the situation of your beloved Country. it would give me pleasure to gratify you. in former Times, when you was absent, I used to attempt it; but it is now so novel and so extraordinary that I dare not undertake the Task. The constant drain of Specie to make remittances for Baubles Imported from England is so great as to occasion an extream Scarcity. Commerce is ruined and, what is worse, the husbandry and Manufactures of the Country cannot be supported. the only Branch of Business that promises any Success is the Fishery, and that is greatly Injured from the same Cause. No Debts can be paid, or Taxes collected. the first are severely demanded by multiplied Law suits; the last are become more necessary than ever by the wants of the public. Our General Court sets often and long, do little and give no satisfaction to their Constituents. Paper Money, Tenders of Lands, etc., sus-

pension of Law processes, and a variety of Expedients are proposed and nothing adopted. A total Change in principles and Manners, Interest is the great Object, the only Pursuit, and Riches only respected. everything seems verging to confusion and anarchy and certainly great Wisdom and Address are necessary to prevent it. Our Elections have been much the same this as the last Year. indeed when a Man is once in it is for Life. A repetition annually is nugatory. few attend the Meetings and hardly one inquired further than who was in last and vote for him again without the trouble of recuring to Principles, or tracing Consequences.

Be assured no Body can wish you and Family more happiness, or desire more to see you in the Vicinity than your Friends on Milton Hill. make our Compliments to Mrs. Adams and Love to Nabby. I am your Friend and Servant,

JAS. WARREN

Will you give me your Opinion of the Encyclopedia and whether it be worth purchasing.

if it would not be an Impertinent request to a Minister of State, I would ask the favour to send me the Gent'n pocket Farrier and Trusler's practical Husbandry.[1] I will pay the Cost to your order here. R. Baldwin Pater Noster Row. A Charming Enthusiasm is prevailing for Agriculture.

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

LONDON, *May* 24, 1786

MY DEAR MADAM,— The affliction under which you are now laboring has been protracted to a much longer period, than I feard when I first left America. it was then I Buried the Dear and amiable youth,[2] for whose loss your maternal Bosom heaves the sad sigh, and over whose urn, all who knew him must drop a tear of affectionate remembrance.

1 John Trusler (1735–1820), whose *Practical Husbandry* was first published in 1780.
2 Charles Warren, who died at St. Lucar. Verses by the mother are in her *Poems*, 240.

Long at his couch Death took his patient Stand
And menanc'd oft and oft withheld the blow
To give reflection time with lenient art
Each fond Delusion from his Soul to steal
Teach him from folly peaceably to part
And wean him from a World, he lov'd so well

nor were the admonitions given in vain. the last visit which I made him I saw in his languid countanance, the Smile of complacent resignation to the will of Heaven.

What ever farce the Boastfull Hero plays
Virtue alone has Majesty in Death.

Be this your consolation that tho young in Years, he was mature in virtue, that he lived beloved and died lamented, and who that lives to riper years can ensure more to themselves.

Let not the popular torrent which at present sets against your worthy partner distress you, time will convince the World who are their approved and unshaken Friends, whatever mistaken judgments they at present form. I foresaw this when I so earnestly pressd the General to accept his last appointment and attend Congress, if only for a few Months.

all that is well intended is not well received. the consciousness of doing our Duty is however a support, but the designing Jackdaw will sometimes borrow the plumes of the Jay and pass himself off to those who judge only by appearances.

you appear to think your Friend at the height of prosperity, and swallowed up by the Gayetyes of Europe, but the estimate is far from the truth. I am much less addicted to them than most of my fair countrymen whom I have left behind me. I do not feel myself at all captivated, either with the Manners or politicks of Europe I think our own Country much the happiest spot upon the Globe, as much as it needs reforming and amending. I should think it still happier, if the inclination was more wanting than the ability, to vie with the Luxeries and extravagance of Europe.

Be so good my dear Madam as to present my best respects to your worthy partner, and affectionate remembrance to your Sons, and be assured I am at all times Your Friend.

Abigail Adams

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN ADAMS MSS.

LONDON, *May* 24, 1786

MADAM,— I this day received your favor of April 8th and sincerely condole with you under the loss of your amiable son. These afflictions are the lot of humanity and so little of the system of which we are a part is submitted to our view, that as we never can discover the reasons of them, they are left only to our Reflections and submission.

My situation would be eligible to the height of my wishes, if I saw a disposition in this Country friendly to mine, or even friendly to their own true Interests, but the fact is far otherwise.

To see as I do the affairs of my Country everywhere laboring under embarrassments, to know that thousands are looking up to me for relief from their distresses, and to have no power to do the least thing for their assistance, is painful beyond all expression. You speak of honors, Madam; but what honors have been decreed to me? Do you suppose I am honored in this Country? The Refugees indeed honor me now and then, as you see in the newspapers. You speak of affluence too. If I were my own master and could I spend what is allowed me as I should choose, I should live in affluence indeed; but when you consider that I have a Rank to support here that I hold in trust for others, and that this Rank cannot be let down, without betraying that trust, you may depend upon it, I am driven to my wits' ends for means.

I know of no change at Braintree or Weymouth in their political friendships, but one thing I know, that a good Profession, or even trade, is better for the Individual than all Politicks. Our Country will do like all others — play their affairs into the Hands of a few cunning fellows, and leave their faithful servants to close their long glories with a sigh to find the unwilling Gratitude of base mankind. Yet I don't wholly approve this sentiment. Human nature is not ungrateful. But while many rate their merits higher than the truth, it is almost impossible that the public mind should be exactly informed to whom they are really obliged.

Real services are never held out to view. The modesty of the

individual, the Jealousy of Rivals, or the public Interest, require that they should be concealed. Do you wonder then that ostensible pageants should be adored, while those who moved the springs are neglected. I expect my turn and am prepared for it in my own mind. My family and circumstances are not prepared for it by any means. Yet they must come to it — I always foresaw it and shall meet it firmly.

At least I believe so. I wish my friend Warren in public Life, because I know he would be useful there.

But his numerous refusals I am informed are made use of against him, and I really fear will prevail. I expect to be myself in private Life very soon and in his neighborhood, and I don't despair of going even sometimes to Plymouth inferior Court to get my bread and my boys thro' the Colledge. The young Rogues shall not be disappointed of their Education, if I am obliged to draw Justice's writs to attain it. I am obliged in Europe to spend immense sums in support of dignity, but I'll be hanged if I trouble my head about it in private Life in America. I am, Madam, your

J. Adams

John Adams to James Warren

London, *July* 4, 1786

Dear Sir, — Your Favour of 30. April, is arrived. I am surprized to read in your Letter that "our Poverty can't relieve Us from the Piracies of the Algerines." Are the thirteen United States then not worth two or three hundred Thousand Guineas? Suppose they borrow it at Six per Cent. there will be Eighteen thousand Guineas to pay yearly. We now loose a Million sterling a Year, by this War. Are we able to loose a Million and not pay Eighteen Thousand Pounds? Give Congress Power and let them lay on Duties upon Imports or Exports upon thirteen states sufficient to pay this Interest and you may borrow the Money. But I never heard or read of Sluggards, who saw so many fantastical Lions in the way, as our People appear to have seen since the Peace.

Our Oil may find a Market in every City where a Lamp is burn'd in the night, if our Merchants will take Pains by Samples and Experiments to Shew the Inhabitants the Superior Qualities of our Sperma Ceti Oil.

The Picture you draw of the Ruin of the Country is horrible. Bad as it may be, Paper Money or a suspension of Law Processes, I will venture to say would make it much worse. I cannot be of your opinion that there is a "total Change in Principles and manners" nor that "Interest is the only Pursuit," nor that "Riches only are respected." If you look back to the year 1760 and from thence to 1774, you will find that Interest was courted and Riches respected, by as many, as they were during the War, and during the War by as many, as since the Peace. as great a Number of Men of Merit, who are poor are respected now, as were respected at any time since our Memory. it is most certain that our Countrymen, are not and never were, Spartans in their Contempt of Wealth, and I will go farther and say they ought not to be. Such a Trait in their Character would render them lazy Drones, unfit for the Agriculture Manufactures Fisheries, and Commerce, and Population of their Country: and fit only for War. I am never apprehensive of Anarchy, because I know there is Wisdom and Address enough to prevent it.

All Things must tend to restore publick Faith and Confidence. The Debt must be funded and the Interest paid. This will put an End to that Speculation in public Paper, which now employs all the Capitals, and produce a Circulation that will relieve every Distress.

The Encyclopaedia is a valuable Collection of Knowledge and worth the Money. The Gentleman's Pocket Farrier and Trusler's practical Husbandry, I will endeavour to send you. You may pay Dr. Tufts for them.

The Enthusiasm for Agriculture like Virtue will be its own Reward. may it run and be glorified.

I have given my Daughter [1] to Col. Smith,[2] a Man of Merit formed in the School of his Countries Afflictions. I shall want her Company, in my old Age, but the Conveniences of Parents are

1 Abigail Adams (1765–1813). 2 William Stephens Smith (1755–1816).

not the principal Points to be consulted, in the Marriages of Children. The young Couple appear to be very happy, and may they continue so as long as they live.

To return to Politicks, our Countrymen are not yet informed of the magical Effects of Circulation, and of the ruin of Stagnation. Stagnation must exist and Circulation can never take place in Society where there is not Confidence of the Members in the Public and in one Another. This Confidence never will be restored, untill the Debt is funded and all Apprehensions of Paper Knavery is annihilated The only Way and the effectual Way to restore our affairs is for every Wise and good Man to Unite in restoring Confidence in the Public.

With great Esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient and humble Sert.,

JOHN ADAMS

JAMES WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

MILTON, *Octo.* 22d, 1786

MY DEAR SIR, — A few days since I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 4th July. You think the picture I gave you in my last too high wrought; You cannot be of my Opinion that there is here a total Change in Principles and Manners, nor that Interest is the only pursuit and that Riches only are respected.

Your distance will not permit you to form your Opinion from your own Observation. Your partiality for your Country Inclines you to more favourable Accounts and that Patriotism which I revere exhibits to your Imagination more agreable Colours and like self Love hides those deformities which disgust and give pain. I sincerely wish that the present situation of the Country was such as to Justify your partiality and wishes, and to Condemn any picture and the Opinion and Apprehensions I expressed to you, but unhappily it does not. We are now in a State of Anarchy and Confusion bordering on a Civil War. The General Court at their last Session could not, or would not, see the general Uneasiness that threatened this Event. however, they did not provide for the

public Tranquility during their recess, but dosed themselves into an unusual Adjournment for six or seven months. They have been called to meet on the present Occasion sooner than the Time adjourned to; have set near a Month without any Appearance of that Wisdom and Address necessary to redress the unhappy Situation we are fallen into. I do not say that they are Incompetent to the Business before them, or that the State of things is Incapable of redress; but it is possible (at least) that they should set till next Election without devising the mode of doing it. The Papers will Inform you that the Three upper Counties (and Bristol is not much better) have refused submission to the Government established by the Constitution and Obedience to the Laws made under it; that is, they have violated their Compact and are in a State of Rebellion, while the three Eastern Counties are petitioning to be separated from us and formed into a new Government of their own Construction. These are very singular Events, which must have been produced by some singular Causes; if they are the natural Consequences of that state of things I described in my last, you will not think my picture more horrible than the reality. I have long been mortified by the Imbecility and Inattention with which our public Affairs have been Conducted. it is probable that when I wrote that Letter I felt also some Indignation. I claim a right to express it to you. my small Efforts were Joined with yours and others for many Years in raising a Glorious Fabrick on Foundations that should have been as permanent as Time, but suffered to fall into ruin in less than half the Time it took to build it. I feel for the Character of the Country. I am mortified at the Triumphs of our Enemies. I am sorry for you, who must from your situation be peculiarly exposed to them. I wish everything may be so Conducted as to restore Order and submission to Government; but I fear it will be some time first. The Scarcity of Money is a great Obstacle and the folly and Extravagance that made it scarce in a great degree remains. I am acquainted with Coll. Smith's Character, tho' I have not the pleasure of knowing his Person. I am glad you have given your Daughter to a man of so much Merit. Please to give her my Blessing and good Wishes. Mrs. Warren desires her regards to be Joined with mine to Mr.

and Mrs. Adams and Mr. and Mrs. Smith. I am with great Esteem and regard your most obedt. Humble Servt.

James Warren

26th. I have just heard that the Supream Court are setting at Taunton, supported by 450 of the Militia which proved a stronger Body than the Mob mustered to prevent it.

John Adams to James Warren

Grosvenor Square, *Jan.* 9, 1787

Dear Sir, — I have received, your Favour of October the 22d and am sorry to find you so true a Prophet. Yet I am happy to perceive that Government arrouses itself with some degree of Dignity, and is likely to prevail. It is apparent however that Discontents, and a restless Temper, have taken a deep root and will require much Prudence as well as firmness, to guard against their Tendency. When We find ourselves disposed to think there is a total Change of manners and Principles We should recollect, what the manners and Principles were before the War. if you recollect the War of 1755, or even the War of 1745, you must remember, very Signal Proofs of a disposition in our People, to run eagerly after foreign manners and Fashions. if you begin at 1760, and recollect, how many Persons satt out with Us, on the same side of the political question, and were warned off, some by little Marks of distinction, some by little offices and some by great ones, some by their avarice, others by their ambition, some by their vanity, others by their fears, some by envy and others by Revenge, how much difficulty there was to keep the People steady, but especially those who flattered themselves they were Leaders, You will be very sensible that our Countrymen have never merited the Character of very exalted Virtue. it is not to be expected that they should have grown much better. I find myself very much averse to believe that they are grown much worse. Yet this is very possible and your Situation affords you opportunities to know, which I have not. if it is indeed true, that there is a general De-

generacy, it is an allarming Consideration. The great Question is what can be done to check its further Growth, or to restore Things to their former State? When at home in 1779 I remarked a general Caution, and I thought timidity among the leading Characters, which made me apprehensive of disagreable Consequences. If the People are upon the Watch, and are laying hold of every unpopular Idea or Expression, to propagate it, to exagerate it and to misrepresent it, this will naturally make Men afraid to pursue their own Judgments. Symptoms of this I thought appeared. and I should not wonder if the best Men became unpopular. There is no Remedy, but a general Conviction of the danger, and a general Agreement against it. My own Sentiments differ very widely from many of the best Characters, even from Mr. Adams and General Warren. I think the first Magistrate must be sett up very high in real Power as well as in the opinion of the People, without this we may lament Disorders but never cure them. The Appearance of County Conventions and their Resolutions, set me upon throwing together some Disquisitions concerning our Governments, which are now printed. I will send you a Copy of it.[1] Popularity was never my Mistress, nor was I ever, or shall I ever be a popular Man. This Book will make me unpopular. But one Thing I know a Man must be sensible of the Errors of the People, and upon his Guard against them, and must run the risque of their Displeasure sometimes, or he will never do them any good in the long run. I deliver the Book up, to the Mercy of a World, that will never show me much Mercy, as my Confession of political Faith. Unpopular as it may be at present, the time will come, after I am dead, when the System of it in general must be adopted, with bitter repentance that it was not heeded sooner. It is much easier to pull down a Government, in such a Conjuncture of affairs as We have seen, than to build up, at such a Season as the present. if the Massachusetts can be governed without a total Seperation of the Executive Power from the Senate, the House and the People, I am altogether ignorant of the Character of that People, and have not made one Sound Observation upon the

1 *Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States*, published in London, 1787.

History of Nations. My Situation here is mournfull and unpleasant enough, and it would not be more gay, anywhere else. You and I have not had an easy task in Life hitherto, and I at least have no Cause to hope that mine will become easier. But I will be as cheerful and contented under it, as I can, let it be what it will.

My Family joins me, in affectionate Respects to yours, and I remain with unalterable Esteem, your friend and humble Servant

JOHN ADAMS

inclosed is a Letter of Mr. Hartley's. it contains Knowledge of Iron, that may be useful in America.

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 26 *Feb.*, 1787

MADAM, — I have just been honored with a very short visit from General Warren. He reminded me of my duty with respect to the manuscript, which you was pleased to intrust me with. I should have returned it with my own hand, in order at the same time to have expressed the pleasure which the perusal of it gave me, but one of my hands has been so lame owing to its being frozen in the march of the third instant, that it has been exceedingly inconvenient to me to ride. Harry stood the fatigue exceedingly well and was not frozen at all.

I acknowledge that I was in some measure prevented from the full enjoyment of your history, by a cause which you mentioned when you delivered the book to me. But notwithstanding that difficulty, it appears to me that the stile is nervous and perspicuous and flowing. The facts are justly and methodically narrated. The characters, which indeed form the most difficult part of history, appear to be accurately defined, and so far as I have had opportunity to be acquainted with them to be perfectly just. But you must not charge me with trimming when I start the following query. The Royalists constantly attributed to Mr. Hutchinson a character for great abilities. Though we cannot form a very high

opinion of the political talents of a man who has made the establishment of a particular system the pursuit of his whole life, and is disappointed in the attainment of his object: yet would it not be better to give him, on the credit of his own party, a little undeserved praise, to procure their judgment in favor of the work? You know already my opinion of the former Governor, and that it is not mine alone. These are the only things which occurred to me as rendering a revision expedient. I cannot suppose that mere slips of the pen were included in your injunctions. The remarks now made are not grounded on any acquaintance I had with Mr. H[utchinson.] The dispute ran so high before I was able to judge of the controversy, that every man had taken his side, and of course I was acquainted with only the leaders on one side. The friendship which has long subsisted between our families and which may properly be considered as hereditary, will when considered by your good sense and a very small share of your candor, be my apology for the freedom of the present remarks. I have the honor to be, Madam, with much esteem Your most Obedt. Servant,

James Winthrop

Catherine Macaulay Graham to Mercy Warren

I thank you, dear Madam, for the favor of your letter of the sixth of January. The having seen and conversed in person with the Author gave an additional pleasure to the renewal of our old correspondence.

We have indeed been much alarmed for the safety of the infant Governments of America and I sincerely hope that this attempt to disturb the public tranquility will like most others of the same Nature when they fail only serve to give it a more permanent establishment. I have heard that things are grown better in many ways since I left America, the high price of provision be lowered and I hope the tast for the Luxuries of Europe decreased. indeed I always flattered myself that the mortifications you have sustained on the article of commerce and the disappointment of Land not taking a great rise after the Revolution from the incoming of

forreign Settlers will rather prove advantageous in the event of things than otherwise.

Mr. Adams has published a Defence of the American Constitutions I have not yet had time to read it, therefore can give you no account of it; but I suppose you will have received a copy before this comes to hand

We are now upon the Eve of a Treaty with France [1] which is in a stile of politicks so new to this Country and so agreable to the present views of our old enemy that it alarms many; yet the two houses of parliament seem only to have considered it as a party business, tho it might have been imagined that the spirit of reformation which has taken place in the counsels of that formidable power would have produced more serious and anxious debates and more deliberate conclusions I thank you, Dear Madam, for your kind wishes and do most sincerely return them by earnest desires and hopes that you may never again experience the sorrows you have felt.

I was happy to hear that Mrs. Russel had brought so agreable an addition to Mr. Russel's felicity as a child, and I sincerely hope that it has not been clouded with the loss which rumour says he has sustained in one of his ships taken by an Algerine Corsair.

When you see our mutual friend Mr. Gerry I shall be obliged to you if you will make our compliments of congratulation on his marriage [2] which tho an event of an old date we only heard this winter by Dr. Prevost [3] the Bishop of New York.

You flatter me much, Dear Madam, in interesting yourself on the subject of my composition my present thoughts are employed on education for tho the History of your late glorious revolution is what I should certainly undertake were I again young, yet as things are I must for many reasons decline the task.

My Daughter I thank God enjoys at present a perfect state of health she is much obliged by your remembrance and joins me and Mr. Graham in best compliments to your self Genl. Warren and

1 The treaty negotiated by William Eden and Dupont de Nemours.
2 To a daughter of James Thompson of New York.
3 Samuel Provoost (1742–1815).

family. From Dear Madam Your Very Sincere Friend And Obedt. Servt.

CATH: MACAULAY GRAHAM

KNIGHTS BRIDGE, near LONDON, *March* 6, '87.

pray make our compliments to Mr. Otys's family and to your Sister and to General Lincoln and his family.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO MR. AND MRS. WARREN

General Lincoln presents his respectful compliments to General Warren and Lady. Whilst he mingles his joys with those of their other friends on the safe return of their son Major Warren,[1] he begs leave to add his warm congratulations on the very important and felicitating circumstance that in addition to a knowledge of duty he has ever discharged it with ability and the greatest punctuality. He has not only merited, but has gained the esteem of all who have been happy enough to form an acquaintance with him.

Monday morn,
12 *March*, 1787.

MERCY WARREN TO HENRY KNOX KNOX MSS.

MILTON, *May* 2d, 1787

SIR, — From your extensive acquaintance, connexions and Correspondence, I am sensible you cannot wish to see a new signature to your address. Nor should I interrupt the thread of political attention, or break in on the more agreable moment of polite amusement, but from the habits of Friendship which for several Years has subsisted between yourself and his parents, a son of mine has requested me to apply to you in a small affair relative to bussiness. This young Gentleman in common with many in these days of commercial embarasment has had the

1 Henry Warren.

misfortune to suffer many disappointments in the mercantile line, which has obliged him to bring his affairs to a certain point and offer an equal dividend to his Creditors. and he now only waits for an answer to a Letter wrote several weeks since to your Brother on a matter of no considerable moment which yet I understand cannot be negotiated with Mr. Breck[1] without his consent.

By Mr. Breck and by all else (except in one *very singular instance*) he has been treated in the most delicate and polite manner.

But as it is both proper and equitable that each creditor should receive a similar proposition, the settlement of all his affairs now only remain at a stand till Mr. Breck shall receive an intimation from Mr. W. Knox that he is at liberty to compound in the same manner that other Gentlemen have already consented. Your Goodness of disposition, without the additional motive of Friendship which we have the honour to Claim, I am confident would lead you to wish a young person in the meridian of active life might as soon as possible be extricated from any further impediments to usefulness and industry. I therefore think I am certain it will not be many days before either yourself or Brother will pay the necessary attention to this request and authorise Mr. Breck to act agreable to his own and to the inclination of every other Gentleman of Generosity and Benevolence.

You will not fail to make my best Compliments to Mrs. Knox. shall not we have the pleasure of seeing you both in the environs of Boston in the Course of the ensuing season. In the interim your Friends on Milton hill would be gratifyd in knowing how the political Hemisphere opens to your eye on the important spring of '87.

But if you, sir, should judge that inquiries of this nature are not altogether consonant to Female Genius, then tell us the Gradations of Theatrical improvement and anything that will do honour to the taste, the understanding, or the heart of a single American, either as a writer, a Hero, a statesman, or an Honest man.

I know the amor patriae burns too strongly in your breast to

1 Samuel Breck.

consider these as frivolous inquiries. But till further encouraged I will check the laudable curiosity of my sex: yet not deny that a full share thereof occupies the bosom of your sincere Friend and very Humble servant,

M. Warren

Of Genl. Warren's compliments and best wishes General Knox and Lady may ever be assured.

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

London, *May* 14, 1787

My dear Madam, — I have lately been reading Mrs. Montague's essays upon the Genious and writings of Shakspear,[1] and I am so well pleased with them; that I take the Liberty of presenting them to you. the Lady is still living, a widow,[2] and possessd of an ample fortune, without any children. She has a Nephew who bears the same name and has lately been returnd a Member to Parliament. I should have wished to have formed an acquaintance with her, if I had not learnt that she was a violent Anti American, tho a sister of a Mr. Robinson [3] who has written some things in favour of our Country, and who has always been Friendly to our cause.

I have resided in this Country near two years and in that time, I have made some few acquaintance whom I esteem and shall leave with regret, but the customs and manners of a Metropolis are unfriendly to that social intercourse which I have ever been accustomed to. Amusement and diversion may always be purchased at the Theatres and places of public resort, so that little pains is taken to cultivate that benevolence and interchange of kindness which sweetens life, in lieu of which mere visits of form are substituted to keep up the union; not only the wrinkled brow

1 Mrs. Elizabeth (Robinson) Montague (1720–1800). Her volume on Shakespeare, which reached a third edition in England and was translated into French and Italian, was in answer to some contemptuous allusions to Shakespeare by Voltaire.

2 Her husband was Edward Montague, a grandson of Edward Montague, first Earl of Sandwich (1625–1672). He died May 12, 1775.

3 Matthew Robinson (1713–1800).

of age is grasping at the card table and even tricking with mean avarice, but the virgin bloom of innocence and beauty is withered at the same vigils. I do not think I should draw a false picture of the Nobility and Gentry of this Metropolis, if I was to assert, that Money and pleasure are the sole objects of their ardent persuit, publick virtue, and indeed all virtue is exposed to sale, and as to principle, where is it to be found, either in the present administration, or opposition? Luxury, dissapation and vice, have a natural tendency to extirpate every generous principle, and leave the Heart susceptable of the most malignant vices, to the total absence of principle must be asscribed the conduct of the Heir apparant to the British Throne, which is the Subject of much speculation at this Moment. the World have supposed that a Marriage had taken place between the prince, and a Lady known by the Name of Fitzherbert,[1] whom for three years he persued, driving her for more than half that time out of her country to avoid him, as she was in independent circumstances, of an ancient and respectable family; of a Fair Character and honorable connections every person presumed her married to him, tho contrary to the established Laws of the Land, and this not only by a Catholick priest, but a protestant one too, every step for more than a Year has confirmed this Idea, as the Lady has attended him; not only to the Watering places, but into all publick, and private parties, and at the prince's request has been countananced by the first persons in the Kingdom, and the publick papers have announced the report and given credit to it uncontradicted throughout Europe. but now at a time when he wishes to be relieved from the load of debt he has contracted, and finds that this affair is like to become a subject of parlimentary discussion, he authorizes Charles Fox (A Man as unprincipald as the prince) to declare the whole story a Malicious falsehood, and in the most explicit terms to deny even the Shadow of a Marriage. yet not a person whom I have heard mention the subject since believes; a syllable of mr Fox's assertion thus does this young Man set both Law and Decency at defiance; his Friends are even so barefaced

1 Maria Anne Fitzherbert (1756–1837), wife of George IV, was daughter of Walter Smythe of Brambridge, Hampshire.

as to pretend that no connextion but of the platonick kind has ever subsisted between them, he a mere Scipio and she a vestal. what a prospect for this Country! what a prostration of Honour and virtue! the Heir Apparant, frequenting the Haunts of intemperance and vice, his greatest intimates sycophants and knaves, appearing in company so disguised as to lose himself, and commit the greatest rudeness, which was the case not a Month since, yet when sober really possessing the outward appearance of a well bred Gentleman. by some he is held up as a Man of Learning and abilities, but of this I cannot learn any Specimens; not even a refinement in his vices, since he is branded with a taste, for the lowest and most vulgar.

but I will quit him, since I shall never owe him; either honour or Allegence, and will turn my attention to my own Country, which tho not terrified with the prospect of a proffligate prince to govern it, appears to be in an untranquilized state, embarressed in its Finances, distrest in its commerce and unbalanced in its Governments, but I have Faith that will remove Mountains, and as distress and difficulties in private life, are frequently spurs to dilligence, so have we seen publick industry excited in the same manner, during the late War. Success crowned our efforts and gave us Independance. our misfortune is that there we became indolent and intoxicated; Luxury with ten thousand evils in her train, exiled the humble virtues, Industry and frugality, were swallowed up in dissipation.

"but it is not upon Record," says a late writer, "that any state was ever yet so exhausted, but that whilst it enjoyed Liberty it might draw new resources from its own vitals, Though the tree is lopped, yet so long as the root remains unhurt, it will through out a greater Luxuriancy of Branches, produce fruits of better flavour and derive fresh vigor from the ax."

Why, my Dear Madam, may we not console ourselves with Ideas of this kind, instead of giving way to despondency? I was very happy to learn that my young Friend Harry distinguishd himself with the ardour of a patriot, and the zeal of a good Citizen in accompanying General Lincoln in his late expedition. had Pericles lived in the present day, he could not have made the

boast, which he does in his funeral oration over the Athenians, saying that they were the *only people*, who thought those who did not lend their assistance in State affairs, not indolent, but good for Nothing. it is indeed a pleasing presage of future good, when the most promising youth, shrink not from danger, through a fondness for those delights, which a peaceful affluent Life bestows "but bare their bold breast, and pour their generous Blood" esteeming it a dishonour that their Country should stand in need of any thing which their valour can acchive.

I long, my dear Madam, to return to my native land. My little Cottage encompassed with my Friends has more charms for me than the Drawing Room of St. James, where studied civility, and disguised coldness cover malignant Hearts.

I will not close this letter without informing you that I am — a grand — o no! that would be confesing myself old, which would be quite unfashionable and vulgar; but true it is, I have a fine grandson.[1] I regret a little that it was not a Daughter, for then I would have claimd the little one for the great one. Mrs. Smith desires me to present her respectfull compliments to you, with thanks for your kind and Friendly Letter, which she will notice as soon as she is able. be so good as to present my regards to the Genll, and all your worthy family. I must acquit myself of a promise made to a Young Gentleman, who requested me when I wrote to you, to lay him respectfully at your feet, by which I presume he meant that I should express, the high esteem and profound veneration, which he always professes towards you, and I knew not how to do it better: than by giving you his own words. I dare say you will be at no loss to recollect this Gentleman by the Name of Shipping; who is as genteel well Bred a Youth as any one from our Country, and who is quite at home with us as well as his companion Mr. Cutting, who I think will make a figure in Life, as he has both abilities and application.

I know not what to say for my companion that he has not written a single Letter by this opportunity, but that he is so much engaged in travelling through the Itallian Republicks that I cannot draw of his attention, except only to official Letters.

1 William Steuben Smith.

he says his Friends must accept his printed letters. I will not apoligize for the length of my Letter, concious as I am of all my Sins of omission, but be assured dear Madam, that neither a want of affection or Regard are in the number, for those my Heart shall not reproach Your assured Friend,

Abigail Adams

James Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Milton, N. E., *May* 18th, 1787

Dear Sir, — I Thank you for your favour of Jany. 9th and for the very valuable Present which accompanied it. I have read your Book with great pleasure as well as Information. The Avidity of the rest of the Family to read it has prevented a second perusal, which I enjoy in prospect. I do not recollect a single Sentiment different from my own, except we might differ a little with respect to the first Magistrate, and perhaps not very essentially. I do not wish to see him surrounded with the Pomp, Parade and Magnificence of an European Prince; but I should be willing he should have an Addition of some real powers he is not now possessed of; but I think I should hardly agree that an Unqualified Negative upon the Law should be among them, because I think a Limited one like ours more agreable to reason and quite adequate to all the purposes of a Check and a Ballance. if I should say there are no faults to be found in your Book, you would consider it as flattery. if I say there are very few, and those not very Essential, you will think me honest. but at the same time that I make a Compliment to the whole performance, if I mention one of the greatest, you will Consider it as the dictate of Friendship. You say there are as yet no Appearances of Artificial Inequalities of Condition, etc. That may be true, because the Barefaced and Arrogant System of the Cincinnati Association is not fully matured, but it is rapidly progressing. The People, who have no Stability, who equally forget Benefits and Injuries, have almost forgot this Insolent Attempt at distinction and are Introducing the Members into the Legislature,

and the first Civil and Military Offices. is it not a fault that you have omitted on so fair an Occasion to mention this Attempt in the severe Terms it deserves? You are certainly mistaken, if popularity is not your Mistress. You enjoy it as much as any Man should do. it is enough to recommend anything here to say it is Mr. Adams' Opinion. I feel the Influence of it myself, and often see it with pleasure in others. I have just heard that you Intend to come Home this Summer. We will be glad to see you and will show you that you are mistaken; but I will not Insure you that it will last, but I think your Book will not make you Unpopular.

it is true that some Persons have proposed in County Conventions to annihilate the Senate. But this Sentiment (if adopted by any of them) does not seem to prevail. The Truth of the Matter is, the People resemble a Child, who feels hurt and uneasy, and quarrels with every thing about him. They have fallen upon this Branch of the Legislature indiscriminately with other parts of the Constitution as they occurred to their Minds. What I mean is, that there is no particular System among them. I will not however undertake to say that there will not be some fatal Change before long. Such is the Situation of things here that no Man can calculate the Events of the present Year.

It is very true that Government has been roused from a profound Sleep, but they waked with that peevish disposition which is common to the Interruption of sweet Sleep and pleasing Dreams. Measures were taken accordingly. The People were Irritated, not softened and conciliated. The Rebels were dispersed, but not subdued, and for fear that Capt. Shays should destroy the Constitution they violated it themselves. After all the Apparatus of the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus, prosecutions of some miserable Scribblers, Declarations of Rebellion, Acts of disqualifications, etc., etc., it is said the Rebels are again mustering in force. it is certain a General discontent and disapprobation prevails in the Country, and has shewn itself in the late Elections. Mr. H[ancock] is undoubtedly chose the first Magistrate. I do not regret the change so much as I once should, tho' I am sorry for it. if I used to dispise the Administration of H., I am disappointed in

that of B[owdoin]. Every Phylosopher is not a Politician. The surrounding solid orb in the Heavens may restore the scattered rays of Light to the Sun and prevent the waste of that Body by an endless diffusion. But no Government can be supported but on its own Principles.

Mr. Cushing and General Lincoln were chiefly voted for as the second Magistrate, but I suppose neither of them Chose by the People. The Senators are generally Changed. even the good and Inoffensive Mr. Cranch is left out — I Imagine because he was of the Court of Common Pleas. our old Friend Mr. A[dams], however, is rechosen, tho' he seems to have forsaken all his old principles and professions and to have become the most arbitrary and despotic Man in the Commonwealth. There is an Appearance of as general a Change in the House. In this Universal Concussion, this rage of Innovation, the Town of Milton have honoured me with an Election to represent them. The dread of reviving the Clamour of refusing everything, joined with the Idea of its being the Duty of every Man to go upon Deck when called upon in a Storm, has Induced me to accept. to forsake the peaceful and retired walks of Agriculture and again embark on a Tumultuous Ocean of Politics, while I feel myself embarrassed at a loss what Measures should be adopted in our present Situation, and for the Peace of Jerusalem. I frequently recollect your Observation, that you and I have not had an easy Task in Life hitherto.

I am embarked, I must act. you know I have no Cunning or Time serving Talents. I shall satisfy my own Conscience and Judgment. I hope to satisfy all the reasonable Expectations of Good Men from my public Conduct, if any are formed, and leave the rest.

Mrs. Warren and the rest of my Family join me in very affectionate regards and respect for yours. I am with great Esteem your sincere Friend and Humble Servt.

J. Warren

HENRY KNOX TO MERCY WARREN

NEW-YORK, 30th *May*, 1787

MADAM, — Having but just returned from Philadelphia, it was only yesterday I had the honor to receive your favor of the 2d instant.

Respecting politicks, as you have given me the opportunity, I shall take the liberty of indulging confidentially a few reflections, relying on your goodness for an excuse if any sentiment should escape, which in appearance should seem to be contrary to our former opinions.

When I survey the animal Man, analyze his passions, and investigate his views; Take a retrospect of his progressions through the various stages of society, and his blind impulses to pursue the present enjoyment to the exclusion of future good, I tremble at the present awful crisis. I arrange in my imagination two or three hundred millions of our posterity, with their eyes fixed on our conduct, ready to applaud our wisdom, or to execrate our folly; I long for that degree of intuition which belongs to a higher race than man, in order to exhibit strongly to the view of my countrymen the effects which will flow from the causes established at the present moment, whether arising from design or accident.

That our system operates badly indeed, no person who knows the discontents, which pervade the United States will deny. Not only a ruined commerce, but such destruction of *moral principle* as must alarm every upright, and intelligent lover of his country. Anarchy with its horrid train of miseries seem ready to overwhelm this region marked by nature for happiness. Were we to examine our political systems without prejudice, perhaps we shall there find the source of all the evils of which we complain, and of all those which we apprehend.

Our respectable and enlightened friend Mr. Adams's Book will be the surest basis of his reputation. It is true he has been a little unfortunate in his title. It is not a defence of the constitutions of the United States, it is rather a sarcasm on them. But it should have been entitled "The Soul of a free government." But still it

will be the means of great good. It is a word spoken in season. He clearly points out one of the capital causes of our misery and prostrate character — the will, the caprice the headlong conduct, of a government without strong checks by different branches, or a division of power by a balance, A mad democracy sweeps away every moral and divine trait from the human character. Hence it is that reason Law, and patriotism is banished from almost every Legislature. Private convenience, paper money, and ex post facto Laws, are the main springs of the American governments.

In addition to these local evils all national character, and interests are lost by the monsterous system of State governments; which from their construction, compared with the general government, must necessarily produce the effects which we experience of overturning even almost the appearance of a general government. Granted says candor, but the remedy? pardon me, the convention is sitting — and shall one of the cincinnati presume to give his opinion?

I confess however, that my only hope of human assistance is founded on the convention. Should they possess the hardihood to be unpopular, and propose an efficient National government, free from the entanglements of the present defective state systems we may yet be a happy and great nation. But I have no expectations if their propositions should be truly wise, that they will be immediately accepted. I should rather suppose that they would be ridiculed in the same as was the ark of old, while building by Noah. But if human nature be influenced by invariable principles, we are on the eve of political storms.

If the convention should propose to erect a temple to liberty on the solid, and durable foundation of Law and Justice, all men of principle in the first instance will embrace the proposal. Demagogues and vicious characters will oppose for a while. But reason will at length triumph. But should the convention be desirous of acquiring present popularity; should they possess local and not general views; should they propose a patch work to the present wretchedly defective thing called the Confederation, look out ye patriots, supplicate Heaven! for you will have need of its protection!

Seperate Anarchies will take place. Hostile conflicts will happen, and in proportion to their number, and duration, will be the strength of the tyrany which will be established on the issue. The party triumphant, will never submit its actions to the decisions of a free legislature — no — The tyrants will direct. If they call an assembly of the people, it will be for the purpose, of devising ways and means of raising more money, like the notables in France.

But say you, all this may appear true to a man of warm imagination, but still a distant glimpse has not been given of the government of Laws, of the paradise of humanity. True, madam. I should be first happy to hear your opinion on the subject. do you remember the idea which you once whispered to me at Mr. Russell's? I like the principle to be established hereafter. But I wish at present to try the experiment of a strong *national republic.* The state governments should be deprived of the power of injuring themselves or the Nation. The people have parted with power enough to form an excellent constitution; But it is incorp[ora]ted and diffused among bodies which cannot use it to good purpose. It must be concentered in a national government, the power of which should be divided between a strong executive, a senate, and assembly. The powers which each should have, would be a subject of nice discussion and much detail. The time of the executive, and senate should be such as to give stability to the system. The Assembly to be for one two or at most three years. A Judicial to be formed on the highest principles of Independency. This government should possess every power necessary for national purposes which would leave the state governments but very little. But every power should be defined with accuracy, and checked according to the highest human wisdom. an attempt to overleap the bounds of the constitution by those who are in the execution of it, should be certainly and severely punished.

Thus, madam, I have hastily confided to your liberality my sentiments of our present critical situation, and stated the mildest remedy that the case will admit. To attempt less will I am apprehensive precipitate us into the gulph of seperate anarchies, on the issue of which we may see established seperate tyrannies. The

tyrants will find ways and means by reciprocal alliances between themselves to render the fetters of the people as durable as brass or iron.

I have said nothing on the subject of foreign intrigues, which will agitate us in the course of the commotions. This circumstance is too obvious to need any illustration.

I should be happy madam to receive your communications from time to time particularly on the subject enlarged on in this letter. Your sentiments shall remain with me. I beg you to present to the general my affectionate and respectful compliments, and to believe me to be most respectfully, you obedient humble Servt.

H. Knox

Mrs. Knox presents her compliments to the Genl. and yourself.

Henry Knox to Mercy Warren

New York, 21 *August*, 1787

Madam,— Your highly esteemed favor of the 21st of June was duly received. But my absences and avocations lately, have been such, that I have been unable at an earlier period, to set down to form a reply.

Indeed I wished that somewhat of the proceedings of the convention might be first known, in order to discover the complexion the remainder of our lives was likely to assume, as far as depended on government.

Although this wish has not been gratified in such a manner, as to be communicated on paper, at present, yet it is well ascertained that great unanimity prevails in the convention. That the important principles are fixed — and that their deliberations are drawing to a close, so that the members will probably seperate before the 15th of next month.

In this state of things the true lovers of their country will wait to receive the result of the deliberations of the convention. I look forward to the period of publication with a degree of anxiety. I

am persuaded that some ardent and intelligent spirits may regard the propositions of the convention as inadequate to remedy the evils of our situation; while others and a greater majority too will be apt at the first blush to consider the proposed government as too high toned.

But if the characters of the convention be duly estimated, and the nature and circumstances of the society I flatter myself the government proposed will be received by the multitude as the best that can be obtained at present.

If however it should be otherwise, if the still small voice of reason should not be heard, but local demagogues successfully oppose the erection of a *fair national republic*, we shall most probably feel the force of blind events. Whether they will be rigid, or flexible, adverse or prosperous must be left for the present to those superior beings who can penetrate further into futurity than we poor mortals.

The information you are pleased to request on certain points respecting the Cincinnati and the characters of certain Gentlemen shall be candidly given when I shall have the honor of seeing you, which I hope will be in the ensuing October or November.

Mrs. Knox and myself have recently sustained the sharp affliction of losing our youngest child of about eleven months old, of a disorder incident to children when cutting their teeth. However much our affections have been lacerated on this occasion we are forced to believe that the system in which we are, and every thing therein, is governed by infinite wisdom.

I beg General Warren to accept my best wishes for his happiness, mental, and corporeal. I am, madam, with perfect respect and esteem Your Most obedient humble Servant,

H. Knox

Catherine Macaulay Graham to Mercy Warren

Dear Madam, — I have long wished, long hoped, and long expected, to receive a letter from you; the letter is at length arrived, and your reasons for not gratifying me before, are so friendly that I cannot complain.

Indeed I have expected with much impatience the result of the deliberations of your convention and as your letter contained this result it gave me a very pleasing proof of your attention. You pay me the compliment, Dear Madam, of asking for my observations on the plan of federal government proposed by the convention to the considerations of the States. I will give them you freely.

In the first place I must own to you that from some hints that were flung out in our papers I feared that it would lead much more to the principles of Monarchy and Aristocracy than I find in the propositions indeed they are grownded on simple Democracy and appear to me to be so well guarded that in the present situation of the united States were they to be adopted they bid fair to stand for ages without contracting any alloy that may affect their Temperament and indeed Dear Madam if some system of power is not established which may protect instead of ruining the liberties of America and which may direct the jarring interests of the several States to one great end of general good your contentions and dissapointments must in the end bring on a government whose principles will be as much at variance with the rights of men as are the most of our European ones. In short, Dear Madam, it is my opinion that were some plan of the kind now proposed by the convention to be adopted and carried into execution and were your people less fond of Commerce and European luxuries would they attend to the cultivation of their Lands and employ their industry in those manufactures which are necessary to the comforts of life and were strict prohibitions made against the consumption of any forreign manufactures you would in a short time be the happiest and the greatest people in the World.

The rumors of war on this part of the Globe are now over and the free States of Holland subjected to the yoke my sentiments on this subject are I dare say so similar to your own that I think I need not trouble you with them.

The account you give me of Mrs. Russel fills me with concern both for her own sake, her Husband's, her Father and Mother's, and for what you, my Dear Madam, must suffer on the occasion for the friendship you entertained for your Niece was I know of

the tenderest kind, her constitution appeared to be always delicate but her Sister whom I am sorry to hear is in the same hapless condition had the air of robustness.

I have certainly brought my Daughter acquainted with you Dear Madam and I think I sent you her kindest remembrance in my last letter She is lately married to a Mr. Gregorie who is Capt. of an East India Man the Match is very much to mine and the rest of her friends' liking.[1]

You are so kind as to inquire after my present employment. I am still writing Letters on education [2] When I have finished this work I propose to resume my pen on a political subject which I have in view and this I fancy will close my sublunary labors. My Daughter, Dear Madam, returns you her particular compliments and thanks for the sentiments you have entertained in her favor Mr. Graham also joins me in respectful regards to yrself Genrl. Warren and family, From Dear Madam Your affecte And Obedt. Servt.

CATH: MACAULAY GRAHAM

KNIGHTS BRIDGE, NEAR LONDON, *Novbr.*, '87.

Postscript. If there is any defect in the plan proposed by the Convention it is the want of a rotation of the presidents of Congress coerced by law, for I still think this to be the only firm support of Freedom in every mode of its existence.

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

LONDON, *Decr.* 25, 1787

MADAM, — The Sack of Rome,[3] has so much Merit in itself that for the honour of America, I should wish to see it acted on the Stage in London before crouded Audiences. The Dedication of it does so much honour to me, that I should be proud to see it in

1 Charles Gregory. The marriage took place June 7, at Marylebone Church. The young lady was described as "daughter and heiress of the late Dr. George Macaulay, and of the female Historian of England."

2 Later embodied in a volume, *Letters on Education, with Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects.*

3 It is included in her *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous*, 1790.

print even if it could not be acted. I have shewn it, in discreet confidence to several good Judges, but least their opinion might not be satisfactory I procured it at last to be seriously read, by several of the first tragical Writers in this nation. among whom were the Author of the Grecian Daughter [1] and the Author of the Carmelite.[2] They have noted their opinion in a Writing that is inclosed. It requires almost as much interest and Intrigue to get a Play Acted, as to be a Member of Parliament, and a printed Play that has not been Acted will not sell. I have not been able to find a Printer who would accept the Copy on Condition of printing it.

In short nothing American sells here. Ramsay's History Dwight and Barlow's Poems are not sold, nor, I fear will Dr. Gordon's, notwithstanding the prescious Materials he must be possessed of.

There is a universal desire and endeavour to forget America, and an unanimous Resolution to read nothing which shall bring it to their Thoughts. They cannot recollect it, without Pain.

Your Annals, or History, I hope you will continue, for there are few Persons possessed of more Facts, or who can record them in a more agreable manner. Yet let me not deceive you. America must support the Publication of it. no other Country will contribute much towards it.

In the Month of April, May or June, I hope to see my Friends at Milton Hill. in the mean time I am, Madam, with great Esteem, your most obedient and most humble Servant,

John Adams

Catherine Macaulay Graham to Mercy Warren

Dear Madam, — I am very sorry to be driven by the course of events to awaken melancholly reflections in you rather than to endeavor to amuse you with the Bagatelles of human life. Accept however the simpathy of a friend for the great loss you have sustained in the Death of your very worthy and aimable Niece Mrs.

1 Arthur Murphy. 2 Richard Cumberland.

Russel whose affections to you were I know stronger than is commonly existing in this dissipated country in the hearts of children towards their parents.[1]

Tho' I have nothing to say that can any wise entertain you yet I would not miss the opportunity of Mr. Adams's return to shew you how much I value Dear Madam your correspondence.

I find by the accounts received from America that the plan of Government recommended by the Convention has been accepted already by the majority of the States. we are a little surprised here to find that New England and Connecticut should be the earliest in acceeding.

The Town of London has been much amused this Winter in the pompous shew of Mr. Hasting's trial. facts are strong, and much eloquence, has been displayed by the prosecutors; but most people think that his party among the powerful, is strong enough to preserve him from any other punishment than the mortifications attending the trial.

The political state of this Country is as usual; for we have gained no virtue by the loss of America, and as the present low condition of the finances of our Neighbors the French and the important undertakings of Russia and Austria give these powers no opportunity to disturb the peace of Europe we believe that our present appearance of felicity will have no end.

Pray make Mr. Graham's and my best compliments to Mr. Warren and all friends, particularly our compliments of condolance to Mr. Russel, for the great misfortune he has sustained in the loss of his excellent partner; [and] accept Dear Madam all that is affectte. from Your Sincere Friend And Obednt. Servt.

CATH: MACAULAY GRAHAM

Mrs. Gregorie whose marriage I believe I acquainted you with in my last begs to be remembered to you.

March, 1788. BINFIELD, near, *Oakingham;* BERKSHIRE.

[1] Sarah (Sever) Russell (1757–1787), wife of Thomas Russell.

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 26 *Aug.*, 1788

. . . . . .

We have had contradictory accounts from N. Carolina. The last Week Russell announced in his paper the rejection of the Constitution by a majority of 100 clear. He was so mortified that he could not help mentioning it three or four times in his paper. Now the story is that the Convention voted by that majority to amend the Constitution, and then adjourned to a distant day, and that they had not then heard of the accession of New York. It is impossible to describe the anxiety of the victorious party in this state upon hearing the first report. They immediately begun to vilify that State as being originally peopled by outlaws and convicts, who were driven from the more civilized parts of the world into the wilds of Carolina, where they had formed a settlement but little superior in morals to the infernal world. . . .

JAMES WINTHROP

CATHERINE MACAULAY GRAHAM TO MERCY WARREN

MY DEAR MADAM, — I wish we were nearer together that we might oftener have an opportunity of exchanging sentiments of friendship as I flatter myself it would conduce to our mutual happiness.

I find that the National Government proposed by the federal convention is adopted by a majority of the States. To Europeans who are used to the form the parade the expence and all the high prerogatives of monarchy it must necessarily carry the appearance of perfect freedom but you who are used to liberty in its most pleasing Garb and who have so lately and so dearly purchased an independance it must carry a contrary aspect nor do I wonder that the american patriots should entertain apprehensions against a system that appears to give a larger trust to that faithless ambitious animal man but whether there may or may not be grounds for fear and jealousy I think it shews more levity and more of

party spirit than I hoped was in America to enter on any new frame of Government by which trust must be reposed and may be abused with such marks of festivity and joy.

I am much obliged to you for sending me the reasons of dissent in Pensilvania and the pamphlet circulated in the Massachusets the one is well drawn up and the other is written with spirit and energy.

I assure you, Dear Madam, I pay a very anxious attention to the concerns of America and were not my inclinations drawn that way on determined principles my friendship for yourself and family would engage me to interest myself in the welfare of any country of which you were Citizens.

Mr. Adams I see by the papers has been long returned to his native Country he is a very warm Federalist and by what I have discerned of yours and Mr. Warren's politicall sentiments and opinions you will not agree quite so well on public matters as you did formerly.

I am exceedingly sorry that you have had so many occasions to mourn the hopless hand of Death in your own family the tenderness of youth in female constitution has much to dread from the rigor of your climate but it must be some very forcible and unlucky stroke of destiny which could carry of in the flower of his age Mr. Lincoln who appeared a very stout and healthy young man.[1]

As your friendship inclines you to interest yourself in the concerns of my family I have the pleasure to inform you that Mrs. Gregorie has got a Daughter and that the Mother and the Child are both well.

The Turks have made a stand against the German and Russian forces which has surprized all Europe. I believe they owe the present figure they make in arms to the restless ambition of the french court which has carved out work enough to employ it for some time at home, but I cannot leave this subject without paying a tribute of praise to the sensible and intrepid conduct of the French who have disputed rights with a Sovereign backed with above a hundred thousand military men.

1 Mary, daughter of James and Ruth (Cunningham) Otis married Benjamin Lincoln (1755–1788), son of General Benjamin Lincoln. The young man died January 18, 1788.

Mr. Graham joins me in affectionate regards to your self Mr. Warren and family and compliments to all friends who do us the honor to remember us From Dear Madam with an high esteem Your Sincere Friend And Servt

CATH: MACAULAY GRAHAM

BINFIELD, near BRACKNAL, BERKS., *Octbr.* 29, '88.

I have taken a small Villa in Berkshire about thirty miles from London where I propose to reside chiefly being quite tired of the absurdities of the Capital.

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

BRAINTREE, *March* 2, 1789

DEAR MADAM, — Your friendly Letter of the third and twentieth of February, I did not receive till Saturday last. To your Friend, who has now been returned from N. York these five Weeks, I have delivered your inclosed Letter as desired. She will acknowledge the Receipt of it, and transmit you the Compliments of her fellow Travellers. our Correspondence has had a short Interruption, it is true, as all others in which I have had any concern have been. I have indeed enjoyed a delightful Rest, tho my Mind has been constantly employed with my private and domestic affairs, which by a negligence of fifteen Years were in such disorder, as would require several Years to rectify. The Period from the 17. June, 1788, to this 2d of March, 1789, has been the Sweetest Morsel of my Life, and I despair of ever tasting such another. This delightful Retreat, humble as it is, I shall quit with great regret. There never was and never will be found for me, an office in public Life, that will furnish the Entertainment and Refreshment of the Mountain the Meadow and the Stream.

According to private Accounts from the Southward there is a Majority of Votes for me to be Vice President. But the People of our united America find it much easier to institute Authority than to yield Obedience. They have Smarted Severely under a total oblivion of the two first Principles of Liberty and of Commerce,

that Laws are the fountain of Freedom and Punctuality the Source of Credit. Yet there is still room to fear, that there is not enough of the Spirit of Union to insure Obedience to the Laws nor enough of Shame and Scorn of Evasion, to secure that Revenue on which Punctuality will depend. The Resources of this Country are abundantly Superiour to every Exigency and if they are not applied, it must be owing to a Want of Knowledge or a Want of Integrity. . . .

JOHN ADAMS

MERCY WARREN TO HENRY KNOX KNOX MSS.

PLIMOUTH, *March* 9th, 1789

I acknowledge a Letter has been long due to General Knox, but as I only am the sufferer thereby no apology is necessary for the neglect. Yet I think I could make a very hansome one considering the great events which have since taken place, events too interesting to admit of silence and too Delicate for a Lady to touch upon.

But as we now seem to have verged to the entrance of a permanent and I hope peacefull Government, an object which has long been the wish of every good man and woman in America, though they may have varied in opinion relative to some particular points, I feel less timidity than for some months past, even if I should accidentally touch on the subject of politics. Yet in this letter I mean to avoid them and, only after enquiries relative to the Health of Mrs. Knox and Family, ask you to transmit the enclosed to my friend Mrs. Montgomery, if she should happen to have left the continent before this reaches N-York, sure [that] you will excuse the freedom I feel no hesitancy in making the request. . . .

I think I should like to look into the Federal City once in the course of my perigrinations, though not that I sigh for the splendour of Courts, or the indulgence of curiosity that might be fed with variety of observation on the dawn of infant empire and the Regalia of Monarchy, but I have still those antiquated feelings about me which seldom approaches the pallaces of kings. I love

my old Friends, many of whom are collected at New York; I am fond of the society of the truly worthy, and at the head of the Respectable list I revere and esteem the illustrious Washington and lady. of them both I have too high an opinion to suspect they will ever forget their friends and correspondents at Plimouth who most sincerely wish he may pass through his Elevated situation (till nature summons him to the Grave) with the same Eclat that has accompanied his Name through a considerable part of the habitable Globe. . . .

M. Warren

Henry Knox to Mercy Warren

New York, 29 *March*, 1789

Madam, — I had the pleasure last evening to receive your favor of the 9th instant with its enclosure for Mrs. Montgomery.[1] That Lady has not yet gone to Europe being at the Manor of Livingston. The letter shall be delivered to some of her family in this City.

I was very sorry when in Boston that my business was of such a nature as prevented my visiting you and the general at Plymouth. I hope on my next journey, I shall be more at liberty, to indulge my respect and attachment for you and him.

I would the objects at this place were of sufficient attraction, to induce you and the Genl. to an excursion. If the length of the Journey by land should deter, the opportunities by Water by the Way of Newport, are at once convenient, safe and pleasant.

The birth and principles of a government destined for so rising and extensive an empire form a momentous crisis. The trains for happiness or misery will be involved in its first measures. A knowledge of human nature, and the existing circumstances of the Country, with wisdom to apply them, will be eminently required. Whether the necessary qualifications for a proper administration, will be easily found, or have been brought forward by the late elections, must be determined by experience.

1 Janet, daughter of Robert R. Livingston and widow of Richard Montgomery.

But with your zeal for the happiness of your Country, and with your beleif for the glory it may attain, it would be highly pleasing for you to be an immediate spectator of the various agitations and projects at the off-set. Such an uncommon event in the annals of human nature would be a proper object for the exercise of the mind and pen of a Philosophic historian.

The roads have been so bad to the southward, that the number of members necessary to form the two houses, have not yet arrived. But about the first of april they will be completed, only two representatives, and one senator being deficient.

The government will not however be fully organized by the arrival of the President and vice President untill about the first of May.

With respects to Genl. Warren I am Madam your sincere and Most Obedient humble Servant

H. Knox

Mercy Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Plimouth, *April* 2d, 1789

Sir, — You are too well acquainted with the history of the world and the distresses of mankind to expect to stand on the eminence of rank, fortune, and influence, without solicitations from various quarters.

Where you feel a friendship it will always be a sufficient stimulus for the exertion of every kind office without importunity, and when applyed to by strangers in distress your benevolence, I trust, will excite due attention.

This is all the apology I shall make for enclosing a letter from a lady whose history you may have been acquainted with until the period when Col. Walker, like many other good men who suffered in the public cause, was neglected by that public and obliged to retire to an obscure corner, there silently to endure penury and slight: which from a state of affluence and independence is trying enough to the feelings of the human heart, without

the extremes of want and the insolence of more fortunate adventurers in life, who once thought themselves honoured by the notice of persons now in peculiar distress.

Col. Walker has been dead three or four months. You will see by her letter the situation of his wife. If you think it consistent with justice, doubtless you will attend to her application when it comes in your way. She is a Friendless Widow, a sensible well bred woman, once possessed of Fortune and consequently courted and respected by the World. And all the alleviation that I know of in her present reversed situation is that she has no children for whom her heart might be daily wrung, and that the suffering of her Husband and herself were in consequence of principles that urged them to risque everything to obtain liberty, independence and happiness to others. Many a similar victim to public Virtue we have and shall see on a survey of the convulsions and Revolutions of our own day.

I thank you, sir, for a letter received by my son, a son who has suffered too severely from the malice of his Contemporaries; but perhaps not so much from any impropriety in his own Conduct, as from the determined system of political enmity that has ransacked the lower Regions for calumnies to ruin his Father — your *Friend* — and a man you know, or ought to know, has never deviated from the line of probity in public or in private life: notwithstanding the efforts to destroy his influence in the public walks, and to cut him off from the pleasures of private Friendship by the basest and most Groundless insinuations.

I most sincerely wish you every Happiness in the elevated situation you are about to occupy, nor do I think there is much danger of the difficulties you mention. I cannot, sir, entirely agree with you in the observation that the people of America will be remarkably averse to yield obedience to the authority they have instituted. I am persuaded the new Government will operate very quietly unless the reins are held too taught, which may Gall some restive spirits for a while; but mankind are much more prone to servile compliance to the will of power than to a sober and Rational attention to that Freedom and independence which is the just claim of nature, and is by no means incompatible with

the necessary subordination which must subsist to maintain a just and regular Government.

You will make my best regards to Mrs. Adams and to your Children, and believe me, with the highest esteem and respect, your assured friend and Humble servant.

M. Warren

Mercy Warren to John Adams Adams mss.

Plimouth, *May* 7, 1789

Sir, — Presuming on the Confidential and unremitting friendship that has long subsisted between us, grounded on the close connection commenced with Mr. Warren in the early part of your life, I again address you without waiting an answer to my last which, according to your usual politeness and punctuality, I doubt not will be noticed as soon as the particular engagements that have lately occupied your attention, the etiquette of the *entrée public* and the consequent ceremonies, are a little over.

I do not mean to flatter the most virtuous and the most elevated Characters, but I must assure you, sir, I have too high an opinion of yours, to imagine it will ever suffer a diminution in my mind from any failure in friendship which I always thought formed on the purest principles, strengthened by mutual confidence and exertion in every patriotic measure, and increased by a thousand circumstances of fiery tryal through the arduous struggle for the liberties of America.

You, my Dear sir, have successfully surmounted all: you have baffled the intrigues of your foes: have reached the acme of applause, and are placed in a situation to do eminent service to your country, to establish your family and to assist most *essentially* your friends. Gen. Warren has unfortunately been the butt of party malice, headed by a man (I know you very justly and heartily despise), who by his machinations has destroyed his public influence and aided by some others for very obvious designs have most injuriously traduced his character, and wish to ruin his Family; But Mr. Adams is the last man in the united

states, who I should suppose would listen to the misrepresentations, or be impressed by the calumnies of open or disguised Enemies to the prejudice of an old and a tryed Friend — a friend whose zeal and exertions in the public cause you are acquainted with and whose integrity you never could suspect. Perhaps no other person has for so many years possessed so great a share of his esteem and confidence as yourself: of consequence, it must be supposed that you know his undisguised temper and sentiments much better than any one of the several descriptions of men who have stuck at no falsehoods or even fosgeries to prostrate his political Character.

You, sir, will be sensible on a short recollection whence these Reflections have arisen. I yet consider the free and explicit manner of some late conversations as a mark of your sincerity and friendship; and though none of my Family are soliciting, at least I am persuaded you will not forget them at a time when you have it so much in your power to oblige without injustice to yourself, your Family, or your Country: but, on the contrary, may indulge the feelings of a Friend and the Patriot by an attention to the interest of a Gentleman who has an equal claim from his Country with any man that is of a uniform attachment thereto, and an indefatigable industry to support its welfare joined with the strictest probity can justify that claim

But the vindictive spirit of his enemies, not sufficiently Gratified by their too successful Efforts against him, have endeavoured to wound in a still more tender part by levelling their envenomed shafts at the reputation of a son. was there a propriety in calling your attention at this time to private objects, I could give you a curious detail of fact, relative to this matter. Yet I do not think it by any means necessary in order to secure your patronage. I am sure of it whenever an opportunity offers to serve any one of a family personally attached from infancy to you and yours.

This is a very free letter; but when I have been used to write and converse with the simplicity of truth and the unreserve of confidential Esteem, neither rank nor station, nor distance or time, will check the disposition to "throw open the Volume of the soul." Especially when candor has heretofore beheld its contents

with the most favorable eye. I shall only lock myself up in reserve when convinced there is no stability in human Friendships by Mr. Adams' forgetfulness of, or indifference toward, such an invariable *Friend* as I know he has from his first entrance on life possessed in Mr. Warren. But though ill treated, maligned and persecuted in a most unjust and singular manner, he yet bears and has borne the unprovoked abuse with the Dignity of conscious rectitude and that Philippic calmness which is never the companion of *insurgency*, *Anarchy* or *Fraud.* I always have thought those Ideas when applied to a person of his established and uniform character were too ridiculous to require a serious refutation; till by a strange combination of parties (invidious to each other, and who have only united when it would aid the depression of a man of too much independence of mind to subserve their designs) they have in some instances been so successful as to injure him in the opinion of some he highly esteems.

But time will make curious disclosures, when you, sir, may be astonished to find the *incendiaries* who fomented the discontents among the ignorant and miserable insurgents of the Massachusetts in a class least suspected by the world; by persons who to screen their own Guilt fabricated and secretly caused the vague and malignant rumour to light on one of the most cherished friends to the Constitution and to his Country; a gentleman whose services have been distinguished; whose patriotism has been unshaken and his Virtue incorruptible; whose fortune has been impaired and whose Family have personally suffered in the public cause. Yet neither himself nor any one of a family of young Gentlemen of promising expectations have sustained any office of honour or emolument since the commencement of the Constitution of Massachusetts.

I only mention these things from a sense of justice, from that justice which I would wish to exercise toward any one, however disconnected, were I equally sure of their merit and their maltreatment.

You, sir, will excuse my detaining you thus long when I tell you the sensibility of my feeling heart has been awakened on many trying occasions; nor is it totally an uninteresting subject to

yourself. For so fluctuating is the popular voice, and so replete with vicissitude are all human affairs, that those whose commanding good fortune augurs no change for the worse may yet contemplate in a more solemn hour the injustice, the ingratitude and abuse experienced by themselves, which has been felt before by some of their *Friends*.

I will swell this long Epistle with only one truth more, which I dare say I may ever subjoin to my correspondence with you, that I am, respected sir, with great esteem your sincere well-wisher, assured Friend and very Humble servant

M. Warren

John Adams to Mercy Warren Adams mss.

New York, *May* 29th, 1789

Madam, — A little before my departure from Braintree I received your favor inclosing a letter from Mrs. Walker. Last night I received that of the 7th May. There was no necessity of any apology for writing to me after so long a correspondence. There has never been on my part any failure of friendship to Mr. Warren or yourself. You are very much mistaken in your opinion of my situation. I have neither reached the acme of applause nor am I in a situation to establish my Family or assist my Friends. I am and have been extremely mortified from my first arrival in America to hear from all quarters the unpopularity of my Friend Warren and his family, whom I was formerly accustomed to hear spoken of with affection and respect by all. It is not my fault to have listened to the uninterrupted Ebulitions of the public wrath. For I must have been wholly out of society not to have heard them, and they hurt my heart most too intimately not to make a deep impression. No doubt there have been many and great exaggerations and misrepresentations. But one thing is indubitable, that G[eneral] Warren did differ for a time from all his Friends and did countenance measures that appear to me, as they did to those Friends, extremely pernicious.

You are pleased to say, Madam, that you are sure of our Patron-

age for certain purposes. In the first place, I have no patronage; in the next, neither your children nor my own would be sure of it if I had it. Beyond my own clear conviction of the public good I should belie the whole course of my public and private conduct and all the maxims of my life, if I should ever consider public authority entrusted to me to be made subservient to my private views, or those of my Family or Friends. The friendship between General Warren and me began and has continued on different principles.

No man knows better than I do that time will make curious disclosures. I should not be astonished to find Incendiaries who fomented the discontents among the Insurgents of Massachusetts in a class the least suspected by the world. From my earliest youth I have been perfectly aware that the popular voice is fluctuating and that human affairs are full of vicissitudes. I have long contemplated in many very solemn hours the Injustice, Ingratitude, and Abuse experienced by myself, and it would be no surprise to me if my latter end should be as melancholy an instance of popular mutability as the annals of anarchy ever exhibited to the World. If this should happen to me or to others, it will wholly be owing to the ignorance of the great leaders in the Revolution of the nature of Government and their obstinacy in refusing to learn it. But enough and too much of this.

You have not informed me, Madam, what particular View you have for Mr. Warren or your sons. The Candidates are very numerous and equally importunate. I must say to you as to every one else, I am not the Person to apply to. The Constitution has wisely made the President the Judge in the first instance of the pretensions of all. Every application must be made to him and it ought to be made in writing. With my sincere respects to Mr. Warren I am, Madam, your Friend and humble Servant

J. Adams

MERCY WARREN TO HENRY KNOX KNOX MSS.

PLIMOUTH, *June* 18, 1789

SIR, — Though not used to make applications for office, I feel such a Confidence in your friendship as justifys my nameing to you at his request Major Henry Warren, who wishes (and perhaps no one is better intitled to expect it) the appointment of Collector of Customs for the port of Plimouth and Duxborough.

You, sir, are acquainted with mr. Winslow Warren, who thinks you will not forget him in the arrangement of the military department, but I believe you may not recollect the young Gentleman named above. General Lincoln is undoubtedly his friend. He was his first aid de camp in the successful expedition against the insurgents of the western counties. he will name him to the President, but knowing your intimacy and influence with him and your Friendship for their parents, my sons are led to suppose that your recommendation alone is sufficient.

I know not the regular mode of application for favours of this kind, but judge that an address for much greater matters than this might be made with success to the confidential Friend of General Washington. and I am mistaken indeed if your influence should ever be withheld when you have it in your power to serve any one of my Family.[1]

Though I have not before acknowledged your favour of March 29 I now thank you, sir, for your care of the inclosures, for the polite return, and for your invitation to make an excurssion to N. York. You judge right when you observe "that my zeal for the happiness of my Country and my belief in the Glory she may attain, were sufficient to induce me to wish to be an immediate spectator of the various *agitations* and *projects* of *the* off-set." when the wheels of a new Government destined for so rising and extensive an empire were, set in motion.

It would have given me peculiar pleasure to have seen the *entra public* of the president and the just tribute of honour and

1 William Watson was appointed Collector for the port of Plymouth in August, 1789, and continued in office until he was removed under President Jefferson and Henry Warren named in his place, November, 1803. Winslow Warren was commissioned a lieutenant in the Second Regiment, March, 1791.

Gratitude the united voice pays to real merit conspicuously marked with modesty and Dignity in our much revered Chief magistrate. But I can contemplate, perhaps with equal pleasure, beneath my own private roof the felicity this people may enjoy under the administration of a Man made by Heaven to Conduct War and revolution with Glory to his Country: to sit down in peace with Honour and eclat to himself: and peculiarly blessed with the happy tallent of uniting the affections of mankind, we now behold him to the pride and admiration of the present and doubtless to the Wonder of future Generations, at the head of our civil police with the hearts of all parties in his hand and the blessings of the whole Continent on his head. Heaven grant that he may be continued to Govern the united states in the untryed path of infant empire and untrodden systems with the same just and universal applause He acquired in the field when Gloriously leading the armies of America to Victory, Freedom and independence. . . .

M. Warren

Henry Knox to Mercy Warren Knox mss.

New York, 9 *July*, 1789

Madam, — Two posts past I had the pleasure to receive the favor of your letter dated the 18th of June.

You judge truly, Madam, in thinking I should derive satisfaction in serving any of your family. All, however, that I do at present is to advise the mode of proceeding most likely to effect the object desired.

As the president has the nomination to all offices, all applications should be made to him in writing. It will, therefore, be necessary that Major H. Warren should immediately write to the President stating this request. It would be proper that his letter be accompanied by vouchers of his character and fitness for the office. Genl. Lincoln and Mr. Bowdoin would be good signers to this paper. Were the merchants and principal people also of Plymouth and Duxborough to sign another declaration of their

desire of his filling the office, it would be a still firmer support to his request.

As the president is decided to make his nominations on the highest principles of impartiality, those who can produce to him the best evidence of their qualifications for the offices for which they are candidates, and also of their being acceptable to the community, will undoubtedly receive his support.

As the military establishment will not probably be augmented, at present no new appointments can take place.

If an augmentation should be made, and I should be so circumstanced as to be able to advance the views of Mr. W. Warren, I shall eagerly embrace the opportunity.

The machine of government has required a considerable length of time to put it into motion, but it is ardently to be desired it may answer the public expectation.

The President has been quite sick, but is now on the recovery, although his disease will require time before it is subdued.

The minds of Mrs. Knox and myself have been severely exercised between hope and fear for some Days past, respecting the life of one of our children who has been at the point of death. We hope the crisis is past and that it is the will of the supreme principle of life to bless it with a longer continuance on this globe.

Please to present me sincerely to the General. I am, Madam, most respectfully your most Obedient Serv.,

H. Knox

Benjamin Lincoln to Mercy Warren

Boston, *March* 25, 1790

Madam, — Your favour of the 22 ulto. has been received.

I am pleased with the information that you are attempting the history of the late important transaction of this country which led to its seperation from Great Britain. It must be considered as a fortunate circumstance indeed when there unites in the historian the means of the best information, the power of perfectly pre-

serving the materials, an ability pleasingly to arrange them and a disposition to undertake the laborous task.

Permit me, Madam, to assure you that there is nothing in my power which I will not undertake to facilitate the execution of your laudable design. My public papers are at your command. As it will be a work of time to examine them all, I will aid in the business if you will please to point me to any particular transaction on which you wish information. I have the honour of being, Madam, with Sentiments of real esteem your friend and servant,

B. Lincoln

George Washington to Mercy Warren

New York, *June* 4th, 1790

Madam, — I did not receive before the last Mail the letter wherein you favored me with a copy of the Dedication, which you propose affixing to a Work preparing for publication.[1] Although I have ever wished to avoid being drawn into public view more than was essentially necessary for public purposes; yet, on the present occasion, duly sensible of the Merits of the respectable and amiable writer, I shall not hesitate to accept the intended honor.

With only leisure to thank you for your indulgent sentiments, and to wish that your Work may meet with the encouragement which I have no doubt it deserves; I hasten to present the Compliments of Mrs. Washington, and to subscribe myself, with great esteem and regard, Madam, Your Most Obedient and Very Humble Servt.

Go. Washington

1 *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous.* By Mrs. M. Warren. Printed by Thomas and Andrews at Boston in 1790. The Dedication to Washington is dated March 20, 1790. See letter from Washington, November 4, 1790, *infra.* Mrs. Warren's letter offering the Dedication, May 1, 1790, is printed in *Correspondence of the Revolution, Letters to Washington,* IV. 326.

MARTHA WASHINGTON TO MERCY WARREN

NEW YORK, *June* the 12, 1790

MY DEAR MADAM, — I ought to apologise for the interval that has passed between the receipt and acknowledgment of your obliging letter written in March last; but I hardly know what apology will be sufficient to excuse the apparent, though unintentional neglect. I believe the truth is always the best ground for an apology on such occasions. Though I may not have a great deal of business of consequence to do; yet I have a great many avocations of one kind or another which imperceptibly consumes my time, and I know not wheather one's reluctance to writing much, does not increase with one's years. The sevear illness with which the President was attacked some weeks agoe, absorbed every other consideration, in my care and anxiety for him. These reasons, I trust, will have their due weight in your candid mind. During the President's sickness, the kindness which everybody manifested, and the interest which was universally taken in his fate, were really very affecting to me. He seemed less concerned himself as to the event, than perhaps almost any other person in ye United states. Happily he is now perfectly recovered, and I am restored to my ordinary state of tranquility, and usually good flow of spirits. For my part, I contrive to be as happy hear as I could be at any place except Mount Vernon. In truth I should be very ungreatfull if I did not acknowledge that every thing has been done, which politeness, hospitality or friendship could suggest, to make my situation as satisfactory and agreeable as possible. My grand children have likewise good oppertunities for acquiring an useful and accomplished education. In their happiness, my own is, in a great measure, involved. But for the ties of affection which attract me so strongly to my near connection and worthy friends, I should feel myself indeed much weaned from all enjoyments of this transitory life.

If congress should have recess this summer (as it is expected will be the case) I hope to go home to Mount Vernon for a few months; and from that expectation I already derive much comfort. Especially as, I believe, the exercise, relaxation and amuse-

ment to be expected from such a journey, will tend very much to confirm the President's health. This is also the opinion of all his Physicians.

In passing down the vale of time, and in journeying through such a mutable world as that in which we are placed, we must expect to meet with a great and continual mixture of afflictions and blessings. This is a mingled cup which an over ruling providence undoubtedly dispences to us for the wisest and best of purposes. And as you justly observe, shall we short-sighted mortals dare to arraign the decrees of eternal wisdom.

That you and yours may always be under the kind protection and guardianship of that providence is the sincere wish of, dear Madam, your affectionate friend and humble Servant

M. Washington

James Winthrop to Mercy Warren

Cambridge, 13 *July*, 1790

Madam, — Your very polite letter of 25 May I have been honored with. It was left at my lodgings while I was upon a journey. The flattering attention which you shewed toward an old friend, would have been sufficient of itself, to have engaged me in forwarding the work proposed in the advertisement which you inclosed. But before the receit of it I was already engaged, and if a Gentleman of the University had supported it as readily as he promised, we should have had more subscribers in that society. As it is, finding your work in the press, I have returned the paper to the printer with several names in the civil line affixed to it, and some of them I hope you will not be displeased to see.

Your compliments of condolance were very interesting to us all. Madam Winthrop's [1] death we did not generally expect, and for a considerable time did not see the need of it. Her own opinion from the beginning was, that it was her last illness. But You

1 Hannah, daughter of Thomas Fayerweather. She had for a first husband Farr Tolman, and married Professor Winthrop in 1756. Professor Winthrop died May 3, 1779.

know every circumstance, the same chamber, the same bed, every object the same, the age of the patient, and the time of the year being the same as took place with respect to Dr. Winthrop at his death, were all fitted for impressing his widow with the idea of following her husband to his long home. She frequently spoke familiarly of her death, but those around her could [not] join in the conversation. The idea was too painful.

The mansion house is settled upon me. When I shall get into it I do not know. I have lived pretty much by accident till I have turned thirty-eight. It is not I believe the want of that sensibility which induces partial attachments, that has prevented me from a regular manner of life; but it has been the want of funds.

Governor Hancock's disorder tho' not severe seems to be fixed. In the strife of parties it is difficult to know what to believe. I am Madam, with much respect to You and General Warren Your most obedt Servant,

JAMES WINTHROP

I forgot to mention Major Warren's visit. I got home to dine that day, but did not know of his being in this town till the next morning. My respects to him and his brothers. When is he to do better than I have done? It will take some weeks to abate the gloominess of ideas with regard to the house where my Parents resided; but I hope soon to have the pleasure of waiting on General Warren and Lady there, and their sons as often as they come into this town.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO MERCY WARREN

BOSTON, *Sepr.* 21, 1790

DEAR MADAM, — This will be given you by my young friend your amiable Son H[enr]y. He returns to you not because he is materially worse than when he left Plymouth but because Docr. Dexter, his Physician, friend, and councillor thinks the business in the office is of such a nature as will endanger the loss of his little remaining health if he pursues it. It is with real regret that I part

with him I want him as a clerk but I want him more as a companion, for I can obtain ten Clerks where I can find one young Gentleman whose mind like his is furnished with useful knowledge and whose disposition is so well calculated to promote the happiness of all connected with him Nothing but a knowledge that our seperation will promote his interest could make the measure tolerable to me My best wishes will always attend him and nothing will make me more happy than having an opportunity really to serve him saving that information by which I should be convinced that his situation in life was so perfectly eligible as to make him independent of any aid from mortals about him.

He will deliver you a copy of my private letter to General Washington there is nothing in it which should recommend it to any saving to the faithful historian whose chief enquiry is for a state of facts. It is a short narrative of an important transaction, the most so to me of any one in which I held a part.

Some have thought that the seige should not have been undertaken with so small an allowance of provisions and that I ought not to have retained so large a proportion of officers. Respecting the first I have, I think, explained in the said letter. I detained a larger number of officers than I otherwise should have detained but for the assurance that a very large reinforcement of militia would be sent in to my aid. Had they arrived the experienced officers would have rendered the most important services I was buoyed up from a hope that I should receive the reinforcement untill it was too late to send out the officers. Had they been sent out when the seige first commenced it would have been of the worst consequences not only to the garrison but to the Citizens at large my apprehensions could not have been concealed. However an officer may feel his feelings should be to himself. If you shall wish for a farther state of facts pray point them to him who has the honor of being with esteem and friendship yours sincerely

B. Lincoln

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLIMOUTH, *Sept.* 24, 1790

SIR, — Though the vice-president of the United States and his lady may have forgotten Mrs. Warren, yet her former friend, Mr. Adams, will accept a small volume from the hand of their sincere and very Humble servant

M. WARREN

MERCY WARREN TO HENRY KNOX KNOX MSS.

PLIMOUTH, *Sept.* 24, 1790

SIR, — Though some of my late letters have been received by the minister at War with a silence which perhaps ought to forbid further interruption, yet as I will not suppose it a designed neglect, I ask my friend, General Knox, to accept a small volume lately offered the public by His most Obedient Humble servant,

M. WARREN

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO MERCY WARREN

MOUNT VERNON, *Novr.* 4th, 1790

MADAM, — My engagements since the receipt of your letter of the 12th of Septr., with which I was honored two days ago, have prevented an attentive perusal of the Book[1] that accompanied it; but, from the reputation of its Author, from the parts I have read, and from a general idea of the pieces, I am persuaded of its gracious and distinguished reception by the friends of virtue and science.

I desire to assure you of the gratitude with which your Flattering expressions of regard impress me, and of the respectful consideration, with which I have the honor to be, Madam, Your Most Obedt. and Most Hble. Ser.

GO. WASHINGTON

1 *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous.* Boston, 1790. See letter of Washington, June 4, 1790, *supra.*

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, *Decr.* 26, 1790

MADAM, — Yesterday I had the Pleasure of receiving your favour of September the twenty fourth, with an elegant Copy of your Poems dramatic and miscellaneous; for both which I pray you to accept my best Thanks. It is but a few days since We received three other Copies addressed to me, but without a Letter or any other indication from whom or whence they came. As We were subscribers for the Publication, these might come from some Bookseller who in due time, will produce his Account which We shall be ready with pleasure to discharge. If they came from you, Madam, We are so much the more obliged and thankful to you: and shall hereafter receive from a Bookseller those for which We subscribed. All will not be too many, and We shall know very well how to dispose of them with Pleasure and Advantage.

The Poems are not all of them new to me, by whom some of them have been read and esteemed some years ago. However foolishly some European Writers may have sported with American Reputation for Genius, Literature and Science: I know not where they will find a female Poet of their own to prefer to the ingenious Author of these Compositions.

I am ignorant, Madam, of any foundation you may have for the Distinction you make between The Vice President and Mr. Adams, or for an insinuation that either may have forgotten Mrs. Warren since Mrs. Warren is certainly indebted to The Vice President and Mr. Adams in Partnership for the last Letter.

Be pleased, Madam, to present my respectful Regards to General Warren and all Friends. With great Esteem I have the Honour to be, Madam your most obedient and most humble Servant,

JOHN ADAMS

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLIMOUTH, *Jan.* 14th, 1791

SIR, — An unsealed letter from you came to my hand this day. for the letter I thank you, as it contained expressions of regard and esteem which I have been used to receive from your pen. for the manner I own myself at a loss.

Does not an unsealed letter from you, sir, appear like a diminution of that confidential intercourse that long subsisted and conveyed warm from the heart the strong expressions of friendship in many a close sealed packet.

Was you, sir, apprehensive that your own reputation might suffer by an attention to any one of a family you "*had been used to hear spoken off with respect and affection by all*," unless the public first inspected the correspondence. Yet perhaps you might mean to do me honour by letting the world see your polite encomium on a late publication.

Indeed I feel myself flattered by the Compliment and yet more by its being in the stile of my old friend.

I acknowledge I stand indebted to the vice president for one letter before his of the 26 December.

But you must permit me to say some expressions in that letter appeared so irreconcilable with former sentiment that I was impeled much against my inclination to consider it as forbiding any further interruption.

Delicate friendship, conscious of its own disinterested attachment, is easily wounded. I might, perhaps, feel too sensibly some former impressions that may hereafter be explained. but I can never tax myself with a voluntary neglect of punctuallity or the want of attention in any other instance towards a friend I thought unimpressable by the *Ebullitions* of party or political malice.[1]

1 In a brief note of February 14, Mr. Adams stated that the unsealed letter was unintentional and due to carelessness on the part of the secretary. He prepared a letter of the same date which was not sent. It opened with an explanation of the absence of sealing and continued: "Neither 'the ebullitions of party nor political malice' have made any impressions on me. The expressions you allude to were the result of very sober reflection upon facts proved to me by the testimony of many witnesses of unquestionable veracity, among whom were not a few of the best friends General Warren ever had in his life. A civil war, Madam, is in my opinion a very serious thing. This Country has once at least

A copy of the work you informed me you had just received I forwarded immediately on publication. I know not what should thus long have retarded its passage. Nor can I inform you, sir, from whom you received three other volumes. But could I have supposed, as you obligingly intimate, that you could have disposed of so many with *pleasure* and *advantage* they should have been much at your service from the hand of the author.

Mr. Warren returns both friendly and respectful regards. You will present me also to Mrs. Adams. I am, Respected sir, with sincere esteem your most Obedient and Humble servant

M. Warren

Alexander Hamilton to Mercy Warren

Philadelphia, *July* 1, 1791

Madam, — In making you, thus late, my acknowledgements for the honor you did me, by presenting me with a volume of your poems, I dare not attempt an apology for the delay. I can only throw myself upon your clemency for a pardon.

I have not however been equally delinquent towards the work itself, which I have read, more than once, with great interest. It is certain that in the Ladies of Castille,[1] the sex will find a new occasion of triumph. Not being a poet myself, I am in the less danger of feeling mortification at the idea, that in the career of dramatic composition at least, female genius in the United States has outstripped the Male. With great consideration and esteem I have the honor to be, Madam, Your most obedt and humble Servant,

A. Hamilton

been within a hair's breadth of a very bloody one, nor is it likely to be soon so secure against the probability of another as I wish it. There is more than one among those persons whom twenty years ago I counted among my friends who are not so explicit and decided as I presume to think they ought to be in favor of those principles and measures which appear to me indispensable to preserve the liberty, peace and safety of this people. As long as this indecision remains, it is impossible there should be the same confidence between them and me which there was once. The affection for them which I once had will never be forgotten, nor can it ever be destroyed; but confidence can never be the same without the same foundation for it." — Adams mss.

1 A tragedy in five acts, written in 1783–1784, at the request of a "young gentleman in Europe" — her son, Winslow.

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 3 *Aug.*, 1791

MADAM, — I send the two first Volumes of Gibbons' continuation, the whole work not being at home. You will see that all the answers which the first part produced have not tamed him on the subject of Christianity. Besides some gross allusions he takes every opportunity to exalt the character of the heathen or mahometan princes who discovered any appearance of virtue; not considering that under our system every man almost has more virtue than the *saints of the infidels*, if such an expression is not an absurdity.

I have several times since my return mentioned in company Mrs. Macaulay's answer to Burke,[1] but cannot find that any copies of it are abroad, except yours. This I a little wonder at, considering the eminence of the writer and the value of the work. For clear, comprehensive reasoning I think it a capital performance, tho' it has not Paine's zeal. I have read Burke but it is a dreadful heavy work. He spends his whole force in proving the inefficiency of experiments in France that have succeeded in America. It is true that in both countries the establishments are new, and require vigilance to guard them against the attempts of those who are still attached to hereditary distinctions. But every day will add strength to systems that are right, while errors will gradually wear out. . . .

JAMES WINTHROP

HENRY KNOX TO MERCY WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, 12 *Jany.*, 1792

MADAM, — Although I duly received your favor of the 12th of last month, yet my anxiety for your grief has prevented until now my writing to you.

In such a case it is only for a parent to feel a parent's woe.[2]

1 It was published, anonymously, in 1790, being in the form of a letter addressed to the Earl of Stanhope.

2 Her son George Warren died in Maine.

Although consolations might be offered to alleviate your afflictions, yet it is fairly presumed that minds elevated and improved as yours and that of General Warren's, have on so dreadful an occasion had recourse to the proper and only sources of comfort. Great father of spirits, how severe the Agony of a tender parent on such a loss! I cannot dwell on the theme!

Permit me only to add, my ardent prayer, that your farther continuance here, may as much as possible be an anticipation of the happiness destined hereafter to reward the good.

I am madam with sentiments of entire cordiality and respect Your and General Warren's sincere friend and very humble Servant,

H. Knox

Mrs. Judith Sargent Murray to Mercy Warren

Boston, Franklin Place, *March* 4th, 1796

Respected Madam, — Although I cannot boast the honor of a personal acquaintance with you, yet having repeatedly perused, with highly zested pleasure, the volume with which you have obliged the world, I trace in that invaluable publication, amid the brilliant manifestations of Genius so conspicuously displayed therein, unequivocal demonstration of a mind fraught with a sufficient degree of candour, and benevolence, to embolden a more humble Adventurer in the Career of fame, to solicit your sanction to an attempt, originating in an ardent solicitude to please, and cherished, and matured, by the emulative glow, so frequently enkindled by great examples. When the Virtues are combined with talents, admiration is then the growth of Reason, and justice delighteth to entwine for the brow of merit, thus established, her ever blooming chaplets. Yes, honored Lady, It is most true "*To lead the envied way is thine.*" But, tracing thy splendid footsteps, the daughters of Columbia become ambitious of some reflected ray, by which to point the lengthening view, with such wide expansion out spread before them; and the literary Votaress, aspiring to distinction, will ambitiously seek to authorize her pre-

tensions by the Celebrious name of Warren. It is hence, Madam, that the inclosed proposals meet your eye, and if you will condescend to propitiate the wishes of the Gleaner, by your own signature, and that of any of your numerous friends, you will, in the course of the Essays, contained in the work, be furnished with a reason for my assuming the masculine character, and you will confer a very high obligation on one, who has wept over your misfortunes, who has been improved, and charmed by your "*Fame embelished lays*," who entertains a fervent wish for your continued, and augmenting celebrity, and who has the honor to be, with great respect, and high esteem Madam, your most obedient humble servant,

J. Sargent Murray[1]

Jabez Bowen to Mercy Warren

Providence, *April* 20th, 1796

Dear Madam, — Your favour of the 21st of March came duly to hand, and tho' we have not keept up that correspondence which arose from an Acquaintance formed when the whole Soule was Engaged for the saving of our Country from the Yorke of Oppression, Yet we on our parts have omitted no oppertunity that presented, to enquire after the Welfare of you and Yours.

The verry heavy Afflictions that has befallen our Families, particularly in the Removing our First Born, our Eldest Son,[2] one would naturally suppose should tend to draw the Cords of Friendship more close: may we make such Improvements from these dispensations, as shall enable us more and more to Honour our great Benefactor let our circumstances in Life be as they may.

You enquire after the Health of our Aged Parents[3] I have the

1 Mrs. Judith (Sargent Stevens) Murray, daughter of Winthrop Sargent, printed in the *Massachusetts Magazine* essays gathered in three volumes in 1798 as *The Gleaner*, by Constantia and also "Poetical Essays" over the signature Honora Martesia in the *Boston Weekly Magazine*. A "new series" of *The Gleaner* appeared in London in 1845. She died at Natchez, Mississippi, June 6, 1820, aged sixty-nine years. Her second husband was Rev. John Murray (1741–1815), said to be the first preacher of universal salvation in America.

2 Obadiah Bowen (1763–1793), being lost in the shipwreck of the *Mary*, off Dunkirk.

3 Ephraim Bowen (d. 1812) and Mary Fenner.

pleasure to inform you that they Enjoy Life with much Vivacity and Health. Sisters Nancy and Fanny have both Marrid in South Carolina the first to Mr. Ed. Mitchel[1] the latter to Mr. John E. Moore.[2] Eliza, Marrid Mr. John Ward [3] and sister Mary remains in her Father's house to Comfort the old Folks. The rest of our Friends with whom you are Acquainted enjoy health, except Sister Clarke who has been long an Invalid.

My Business in the Loan Office makes it verry difficult to leave Town, so that I cannot promise a Visit soon. Nevertheless we shall be really glad to see you and the General here soon, we will exert our best Abilities to make the Time pass agreably and Pleasantly.

When we settled our Accounts there was Twelve Books remained on hand, and which I expected you would have Orderd out of my Hands. I will use my Endeavours to dispose of them, or will send them to the person you may direct.

Mrs. Bowen presents her best Comps. to you the Genl. and the other Branches of your Family, with whom I joyn, and Remain, Madam your Friend and Obedient Servant,

JABEZ BOWEN[4]

JOHN ADAMS TO ELBRIDGE GERRY

PHILA., *Feb.* 20, 1797

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour of 30th of January has not yet been answered. It is full of Observations, which could not be made but by a Man of Experience as well as Wisdom and public Spirit.

Information will not be easy for me to obtain especially from the Southern States where my Friends are generally so old and so disinclined to interfere, if not so indolent, that I shall be obliged to receive it frequently from Enemies or at least from cold Friends.

1 Married September 6, 1792. 2 Married August 24, 1789.
3 Married December 25, 1792.
4 (1739–1815.) See *Yale Biographies* (Dexter), II. 452.

I shall seize it however with avidity, let it come from whom it will, if I can depend upon it as fact.

I feel no apprehensions from Mr. Jefferson. The Cause of the irritation upon his Nerves, which broke out in some disagreable Appearances, a few years ago, is now removed as I believe; and I expect, from his ancient friendship, his good Sense and general good dispositions, a decorum of Conduct at least, if not as cordial and uniform a Support as I have given to my Predecessor, which is and shall be, the Pride and boast of my Life. I have had Temptations, which however I found no disposition in my heart to comply with and found no difficulty to resist.

As to information from abroad; that is already in a train that it will be very difficult, if not impossible for me, to interrupt. There are, who, you may suppose, have enough of my Confidence. There are none, whom I distrust. But I wish I could be more confident than I am of the Industry Vigilance and Zeal as well as Judgment and discernment of some. Talents of some sorts, however brilliant, are not always the only ones, necessary to search the hearts of Courtiers and penetrate the Views of Cabinets.

The Places abroad are or will be, before my Day arrives, all full. It is my private opinion that Ministers at the Neutral Courts of Sweeden and Denmark, would at this important Period, be not only usefull, but important. But among the Representatives there are so many against all foreign Missions and so many more against enlarging the Number, that I fear it will be hopeless to propose such a measure.

Indeed the Office before me, is not a "Sinecure." I never in my life felt such an awful Weight of Obligation to devote all my time, and all the forces that remain, to the Public.

It will be in your Power to alleviate the Burden a great deal, unless yours should be increas'd in a way that I must confess Is the Wish of your Friend and Sert.

John Adams

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

QUINCY, *March* 4th, 1797

MY DEAR MADAM, — I received yesterday your obliging favour of Feb'ry 27th. I have been so little a favorite of fortune that I never once examined my Numbers of the Newspapers, or otherways, concluding that those who were equally interested would take proper care for me. as I had formd no expectations, I meet with no dissapointment, and am quite pleased that my adventure should be appropriated to the promotion of Science and Literature.

The few shillings in your hands be so kind as to lay out, in the purchase of some little Books, and present them for me, to the Lovely Marcia as a token of approbation for the sweet engageing simplicity of manners, which were so conspicuous in her.

For your Congratulations upon a late important event, accept my acknowledgments, considering it as the voluntary and unsolicited Gift, of a Free and enlightened people, it is a precious and valuable Deposit, and calls for every exertion of the Head, and every virtue of the Heart, to do justice to so sacred a Trust, yet however pure the intentions, or upright the conduct, offences will come.

High Stations, Tumult, but not bliss create.

As to a Crown, my Dear Madam, I will not deny, that there is one which I asspire after, and in a Country where envy can never enter to plant Thorns beneath it. the fashion of this world passeth away. I would hope that I have not lived in vain, but have learned how to estimate, and what value to place upon the fleeting and transitory enjoyments of it.

I shall esteem myself peculiarly fortunate, if at the close of my publick Life, I can retire, esteemed beloved and equally respected with my predecessor.

Old Friends can never be forgotten by me. in that number I have long been accustomed to consider the Genll. and Mrs. Warren. it will always give me pleasure to see them at peace-Field, or where ever else they may meet, their Friend and Humble Servant, ABIGAIL ADAMS

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

Quincy, *October* 1st, 1797

My dear Madam, — I acknowledge myself indebted to you for two kind Letters, both of which found me in circumstances of distress; the first which came to me before I went to Philadelphia, I fully intended to have replied to at the Time, but the many cares and avocations which at that time occupied my mind, preparitory to my going, and the peculiar melencholy circumstance of the Death of my Mother and Neice within a day or two of each other, not only arrested me in my journey, but added to the cares with which I had before felt myself opprest. to you therefore, who have so frequently been summoned on like solemn occasions I need make no further appology.

Your last kind Letter, which I had no right to expect, and was therefore received as a pledge of a Friendship which bears the stamp of Time, and which I hope will endure with our Lives, however we may discent upon some subjects, upon that of mutual good will esteem, and real affection I trust we shall be ever united, and your Letter expressive of it should have met a ready reply but I was disabled both with my Eyes and Hands, having met an accident in a carriage which like to have cost me my Life. I have however recovered so as to leave only a small scar behind.

Your kind invitation to visit you in the only stile which can ever be agreable to me, that of Hospitality and freedom, would have given both Mr. Adams and myself great pleasure. a promise which he made to the Secretaries, of not being absent from Quincy more than one day at a Time, that their communications might always find him, has confined him to this place ever since his return. one only visit have I made, and that to my sister in New Hampshire. I fulfilld two duties, that of visiting a very dear Sister, which I had not done before, since her residence and marriage in that State, and placing my two Grandsons at an accademy there, and in her Family and under her inspection, that they may receive a Genuine New England education which I am Yankey enough to prefer to any other I have yet seen.

We leave this place in a few days, without knowing where we

are to stop. the distrest state of a city which seems devoted to Calamity, and the pestilence which still rages there, renders it dangerous to enter it at this Time, and the certain clamour which will be raised if Congress are convened at any other place, renders it difficult for the president to know what is best and most for the Good of the Country, and the Safety of its Members; without being much nearer, where a more accurate statement of Facts can be ascertained. The Philadelphians will complain and say there is no danger, tho at present their city is deserted of two thirds of its inhabitants.

I received a Letter from Mrs. Otis, a few days since. She with her Family are at Bristol about eighteen miles from the city, and were all well.

When I was at providence I took Tea at the late Govenour Bowen. they inquired kindly and particuliarly after you and your Family, and desired a particuliar remembrance to you.

The president joins me in an affectionate remembrance to his old Friend the Genll. and to Mrs. Warren both of whom it would have given him pleasure to have seen at Quincy. I am, dear Madam, with sentiments of Regard and esteem Your affectionate Friend

Abigail Adams

Harrison Gray Otis to Mercy Warren

Phila., *March* 15, 1798

My dear Madam, — It is a long time that I have been your Debtor for your affectionate enquiry after my health when I was in Boston. That journey naturally created an accumulation of business which pressed rather heavily upon my return; and my complaint made it desirable to avoid as much as possible, the occupation of writing. I am thank God, much better. My friends thought I was never very ill, and I doubt not that absence from home and a privation of my habitual domestic pleasures aggravated my indisposition. I was however harrassed by a hoarseness and pain in my breast which have not entirely left me. The pain

is changeable and fugitive; and as I retain strength and appetite and sleep well, I am not without hope that it is chiefly rheumatic.

You will perceive by the papers, all the news that we have lately received. The dispatches which accompanied the late letter from our Commissioners are not even now fully decyphered. It is however whispered but I know not on what ground, that they consist of the little details of their transactions and opinions, which will not aid a public investigation of the state of our affairs, and which might be injurious to our friends who remain in France. It is sufficiently evident that they are not to be received, and not less so, that a hostile and predatory conduct towards us, will continue on the part of our dear Allies. Our only chance of escaping from war, or from the calamities of war, inflicted under some other name, seems to consist in the prospect that the powers at war cannot long remain in their present high and constrained attitude. But whether Great Britain is doomed to yield to the arms and politicks of France, or whether the five Kings will squabble with each other, so that "honest men may come to their dues," are events shrouded from our foresight. I shall bear either of them with Christian Fortitude, if our own Country can be permitted to remain at peace. I write this at my desk in the Hall of Congress, so that if it does not discover either fancy or genius, I hope you will impute the deficiency in part, to a very heavy Speaker who now assails my ear with a very somniferous monotony.

I send you the substance of my speech on foreign intercourse; not on account of its merit but to satisfy you that my hoarseness is in some measure relieved.

With great respect and regard, and friendly remembrance to Uncle Warren and my Plimouth Connections, I am, Dear Madam, Your affect. Nephew,

H. G. Otis

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 25, 1798

MY DEAR MADAM, — I received your obliging favour of April 7th on the 18 of this month, for which accept my sincere thanks. To hear of the Health, and welfare, of old, and esteemed Friends, gives pleasure to her, who sincerely rejoices, that the decline of Life, of all those, whom she highly values; is renderd agreable by the enjoyment of Health, peace, and Competance. Blessing[s] at all periods valuable but more particularly so, when active Life, yealds to the more tranquil and contemplative Scenes of Age. A scene to which your Friends are as rapidly hastning, as time can carry them; and accelerated by the Burdens which are devolved upon them, when retirement from the "worlds mad stage" would be more consonant to their feelings, particularly as they have weather'd one political storm, and enterd the Harbour with safety. it is hard to be calld again to engage in a Tempest, and with a power which defies all Laws, both humane and devine, whose Ambition knows no limits, and which seems to threaten universal domination, and like an other Alexander, weep for new worlds to conquer. "In proportion, (to use the words of a celebrated writer) as we have been attracted towards the focus of illegality, and irreligion all the venemous and blighting insects of our Country, have been awakened into life, and the promise of the years has been blasted."

The olive Branch, tendered to our Gallic Allies, by our Envoys; has been rejected with scorn. nor would the Military Despots, give to our Ambassadors, an opportunity of presenting those liberal generous and pacific terms, with which they were Charged, they seemed to think all negotiation useless, which possessd not the power of Midas. The haughtiness by which the proud repell us, has this of good in it; that in making us keep our distance, they must keep their distance too, having swallowd up all the Republicks with which they have contended, drained them of all their resources, they proceed from the same rapacious spirit, to imprison the Ambassador of a sovereign power: not as alledged, for offering a Bribe, but having exacted from his court one heavy

contribution, as the price of peace; and employd that very money in establishing their late military despotism, they refuse to sign the Treaty, which was a few days protracted, in order to obtain the consent of an Ally, against whom some articles militated with their former engagements. having obtained their consent, the Minister presented the Treaty for signature, and was refused, unless a new gift of a still more oppressive sum was given upon the refusal of his court to comply, the Minister; contrary to the Law of Nations is imprisoned, and portugal threatened with an invasion.

The dispatches from our Envoys which you have undoubtedly read; and which I now send you, will be prooff sufficient, to shew, what a pitch of venality, Rapacity and avarice, the present Rulers of France have arrived at. The confidence with which they boast of a powerfull party in this Country devoted to their views, is daily experienced. their emissaries are scatterd through all parts of this extensive union, sowing the seeds of vice, irreligion, corruption, and sedition. hence has grown up that spirit of party, and of faction within those walls, where wisdom and patriotism alone should preside; where you behold sophistry, substituted instead of argument, and personal Reflections giving place to National Dignity and Decorum. I wish however a veil to be thrown over the disgracefull business which occupied much too large a portion of the present session; and that it may sink into oblivion with the party views which supported it

The Nation appears to be rousing from the Lethargy, which has too long benumbed its powers, and rising to a Sence of its own Dignity, and consequence, with a firm resolution to repell the insults offerd her, too long a habit of humiliation, does not seem a very good preparative to manly and vigorous sentiments. but the reluctance which every American feels to engage in Hostilities with any Nation, and the desire they have to sacrifice all consideration to the preservation of peace, short of their Independance, and Security, has restrained them from expressing the full extent of their Indignation against a Nation, which they considerd as oppressed, and in the early stages of its Revolution, sincerely wished it success in obtaining and securing to itself equal Liberty and social Rights, but when we see them from

being oppressed, become themselves the greatest of all oppressors and usurpers, we can no longer wish them success.

If we become a united people, there is no doubt but we can withstand the storms which threatens us. united we stand, united we are formidable, and sufficient to ourselves, nor need we seek a *Foreign Aid*, or *dread a Foreign Foe*.

As Calumny, and abuse upon the Fairest Characters and the best Men in France, was one of the most powerfull engines, employed to overturn one set of Rulers and in sitting up others who in their turn shared the same fate, so have their emissaries adopted the same weapons in this Country and the Liberty of the press is become licentious beyond any former period. the Good sense of the American people in general directs them Right, where they can see and judge for themselves, but in distant and remote parts of the union, this continued abuse, deception, and falshood is productive of great mischief, and tends to destroy that confidence and Harmony which is the Life Health and Security of a Republick.

I write to you, my dear Madam, with the Freedom and confidence of an old Friend, who, I am sure, will unite with me in sincere, and ardent wishes, for the peace security and prosperity of our common Country.

The president desires me to present to Genll. Warren the Remembrance of an old Friend who would be much more at his ease, and happier in cultivating the usefull science of Agriculture with him, than, in the arduous, complicated, turbulant and difficult task assignd him. he will however do his utmost, that the fruits of the Husbandman, and the Commerce of the Merchant shall be protected and secured, and that the Liberty and Independance which we obtaind and secured from the Grasp of one Foreign Nation, shall not be unjustly wrested from us by any other power. if we are but just to ourselves, and in these endavours he hopes for the aid and countanance of all his fellow citizens.

When I return to Quincy, which I hope may be in the course of the summer, it will give me great pleasure to see and welcome you and Genll. Warren at Peace Field.

My compliments to your son and daughter and to Miss Marcia. From dear Madam your Friend and Humble Servant

ABIGAIL ADAMS

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 17, 1798

You and I, my Dear Madam, have trod together, through one Gloomy Scene, of War, havock and desolation; and we have seen our Country rise superiour to oppression, and despotism and take its Rank among the Nations, presenting at this period, the *only spectacle*, of a Free Republic, which has not been Revolutionized, by the Gormandizing and insatiable thirst of that power, which like the Grave, crys Give, Give, whilst the departed wealth, opulence and Liberty of Batavia, the Cruelly oppress'd Geneva, Genoa, all Itally, and the partitiond and Barterd Venice, with the Barbarously Sacrificed Switzerland, and Bern cry to us with an awefull warning voice, to behold their Fate, and secure ourselves by a direct opposite conduct to that which has proved fatal to them.

I would hope that the destroying Angel may not be commissioned to visit us in wrath, but that he may visit us on an errand of Love, to warn us against those contaminating principles and abominations, which have made all Europe one Golgotha.

May the God of our Fathers protect us, and if we must be scourged, remember Mercy for us.

"You observe, That Providence has deposited a high trust in the Hands of the President, and that it is optional, with him, from the confidence reposed in him by the people, to abuse his power, or to continue the object for which our Country has made such costly sacrifices."

Hastening to that period which in Scripture is termed the Life of Man, having every thing at stake which can render the remnant peacefull, or the future happy, reputation and honour, Life Liberty, and property, is it possible to have a wish or desire which is not interwoven with the present and future prosperity, freedom

and independance of united America? it depends upon the people to say that they will remain a free and happy Republic.

Permit me to transcribe a sentance from an answer to an address presented by the inhabitants of the County of Otsego in the State of New York.

"Your reliance on the good sense fortitude, and integrity of your fellow citizens, I trust will not deceive you. *all depends* upon these virtues. if these fail us, we are lost, our constitution and administration all depend upon them. our Government without these aids has no power at Home, or abroad: we have no other principle of union, or capacity of defence."

In an other replie, to the people of Potts Town in (Penn) are these words, "Your confidence, that I will not surrender the rights of the Nation, shall not be betrayed. If the Nation were capable of such a surrender (which it is not) some other Hand must affix the signature to the ignominious deed"

With these sentiments will my Friend live and with these sentiments he will like the Brave avoyer, Steiguer of Bern,[1] meet death if decreed to him.

The stay of our envoys in France is protracted to an allarming degree for their personal safety, and I had almost said for our National honour. The Decree of the Directory respecting Neutrals and the declaration of Talleyrand, that we could only *Buy it off*, ought to have been the signal for the departure of our Envoys The cup of Humiliation was full, what has since happend, are its overflowings. they have Borne it! but the indignation of their Country spurns it. I inclose to you the last dispatch Heaven Grant, *that it may be the last.*

The testimonials in Approbation of the measures persued by the Chief Magistrate of the Union, with respect to France, which as you observe, have poured in from all quarters of the Union, are indeed an incourageing, and gratefull reward, for his Labourious and hazardous exertions in the publick Service; whilst the rising Generation, upon whom the hopes and expectations of all America is fixed, for their Security, and Defence are zealous, and sincere, with their profferd Lives, and fortunes, Their Fathers

[1] Nicolas Frederic de Steiguer (1729–1799).

may be permitted to repose; having performed their Routine of active Duty, and spend the remnant of their Days, in devoute suplications for the success of their offspring.

The president directs me to reciprocate the Kind wishes of his Friend Genll. Warren, and to assure him that he retains a pleasing remembrance of the past they have acted together in the defence of the Liberties of their common Country.

Mr. and Mrs. otis the Elder and junr. are both well, were with us last evening. I most ardently long for a visit to Quincy, the Green fields, and shady Groves would be a pleasing contrast to the Brick Walls and crouded streets of philadelphia, particularly so, if I could shut out all the political clouds which darken our horizon

With a kind remembrance to every Branch of your Family particularly the Little Marcia I am, my dear Madam, your Friend and Humble Servant,

Abigail Adams

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

Quincy, *October* 5, 1799

. . . . . .

As I have an opportunity by the Lieut Govenour I send you a late publication by the Abbé Barruel,[1] which will remove I presume all doubts from your mind, respecting the existance of such a person as *wishaupt*:[2] when you have read the Books, you will oblige me by returning them to Judge Cranch's. the Abbé was the writer of the History of the French Clergy. you will perceive that he is a Bigoted Catholick, but a man of science, and great industery, the system which he discloses freezes one with horror. it was reserved for wishaupt to put in practise, the principles of Voltair, and the whole junto of French phylosophers, aided by Frederic the Great as he is call'd.

1 Augustin de Barruel (1741–1820), whose *Mémoires sur le Jacobinisme* appeared in 1797 and was translated into English and published in London in 1797–98.

2 Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830), founder of the Order of the Illuminati.

you will be so good as to present my Respects to the Genll. and to believe me at all Times your truly affectionate friend,

ABIGAIL ADAMS

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

QUINCY, *Janry.* 16th, 1803

MY DEAR MADAM, — It was with much pleasure I recognized the Hand writing of an old Friend, tho only in the signature of her name. it recall'd to mind those days of pleasureable intercourse, "when thought met thought," and a happy union of sentiment endeard our Friendship, which neither time, or distance has effaced from my Bosom. I have sympathized with you, in sickness and in sorrow, much oftner than my pen has detailed it to you. I too have tasted of the bitter cup of affliction — and one is not, cut off in the Meridian of Life.

I was happy that my son had an opportunity of paying his respects to the ancient Friends of his parents. We should be equally glad to see your sons whenever they pass this way. his visit to plimouth was necessarily short, or he would have spent more time with you. You observe that you have not seen any effect of my pen for a long time; Indeed, my Dear Madam, I have avoided writing for these two years past a single Letter, except to my Sister, and Children. The sacred Deposit of private confidence has been betrayed, and the bonds of Friendly intercourse snapt asunder to serve the most malicious purposes: even a jocular expression, has been made to wear the garb of sober reality: the most innocent expressions have been twisted, mangled and tortured into meanings wholly foreign to the sentiments of the writer. I have been ready to exclaim with the poet, "What sin unknown dipt you in Ink?"

There now lies before me an *Aegis* of the present year; in which is draged to light the intercepted Letter,[1] said to have been written to your worthy Husband, in the year 1775, and publishd in an English Magazine. The design of the publisher appears

1 See Vol. 1, 88, *supra*. The *National Ægis* was published at Worcester.

from the introduction of the Letter, to make it believed, that the person alluded to as a pidling Genius, was Genll. Washington, and that the supposed writer, was engaged in a plot to get him removed from the command of the Army, that he possest a sanguinary revengefull temper, and was desirious of punishment without mercy: without adverting to the period when the Letter was written the state of the Country at that time, before the declaration of Independance had sit it free from the shackles and chains which were prepared for it, and when we were hazarding an attempt to form a Government for ourselves, it was natural for the Letter writer to inquire: will your judges be Bold? will they feel firm? will they dare to execute the Laws under their present circumstances? with their Capitol in the possession of a powerfull enemy, and many of their near and dear Friends shut up within it, prisoners to them. The old Actors are gone off the Stage. few remain who remember the perils and dangers to which we were then exposed, and fewer still who are willing to do Justice to those who hazarded their lives and fortunes, for to secure to them the blessings which they now possess, and upon which they riot and scoff. little regard is paid to the prohibition, thou shalt not bear false witness, or to that system of Benevolence which teaches us to Love one an other: and which I trust, we my dear Madam shall never lose sight of, however reviled and despightfully used.

Your Friends tho not exempt from the infirmities of age, are in the enjoyment of many blessings, amongst which is a comfortable portion of Health, and rural felicity. we enjoy the present with gratitude, and look forward to brighter prospects and more durable happiness in a future state of existance, where we hope to meet and rejoice with those whom we have loved, and revered upon Earth.

as to the little pecuniary matter between us, which but for your reminding me of, would never have been recollected by me, I know not where the papers are. I have not seen them or thought of them for many years: I have not any thing upon Book and the amount can be but a triffel, and I beg you not to give yourself any further concern about it, as I have not any demand upon you, but

a continuence of that Friendship and regard, commenced in early Life, and never designedly forfeited, by your Friend,

ABIGAIL ADAMS

Both Mr. Adams and your Friend unite our best wishes for the Health and happiness of Genll. Warren and yourself and Family.

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLYMOUTH, *August* 28th, 1803

SIR, — The painful tidings I have this afternoon transiently heard relative to the health of my long beloved friend, Mrs. Adams, induce me to trouble you with a line to enquire what is her present situation, of which you will be so kind as to inform me by the return of the post. I pray that she may not be in so hazardous a state as is reported, but that her useful life may be protracted.

You will mention me to her with my best affection — affection which has not diminished with time, and with esteem and friendship reciprocated through the Varieties of life, which I hope will be continued in a more perfect state, whichever of us first changes her existence. With much respect, I am, Sir, your Obedt. Hble. Servt.[1]

MERCY WARREN

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

QUINCY, *August* 30th, 1803

DEAR MADAM, — I received, with much Pleasure, late, the last Evening your kind Letter of the 28th of the month, and should have answered it sooner, if it had come earlier to my hand

We have been in great affliction in this Family for more than three months, on Account of the dangerous illness of your Friend my Companion, on whose preservation all my hopes of Comfort in this World, seem to be suspended. An Unfortunate Fall, first threw her into a fever, a return of that obstinate Intermittent,

1 The body of the letter is by another hand.

which has distressed her at times for so many Years, and brought again that chronic Diarrhea, which a few years ago threatened her Life for a long time. This was followed by a Carbuncle, which is still in Operation. She has suffered, through the whole extream pains, and has been reduced so low, that it has often seemed impossible to support her Strength in a degree sufficient to sustain her.

She desires me to present you her best Thanks for your kind Enquiries and friendly Sentiment, and Authorises me to say that she thinks herself better this morning than she has been for many days past, having rested more quietly than she has done for a long time.

Although her own opinion has been that she should not survive this Disorder, she has been in a very happy State of Mind, calmly resigned to her Destiny and the Will of the Supream Ruler.

The Day is far spent with Us all. It can not be long before We must exchange this Theatre for some other. I hope it will be one, in which there are no Politicks. With great Esteem and regard to you and Mr. Warren, I am, Madam your Friend and humble Servant,

JOHN ADAMS

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MERCY WARREN

Th: Jefferson presents his compliments to Mrs. Warren and returns her the paper she had been pleased to inclose to him with his own subscription and that of the heads of departments except General Dearborne, who had signed another paper.[1] he learns with great satisfaction that Mrs. Warren's attention has been so long turned to the events which have been passing. the last thirty years will furnish a more instructive lesson to mankind than any equal period known in history. he has no doubt the work she has prepared will be equally useful to our country and honourable to herself. he prays her to offer his respects to General Warren and to accept herself his salutations and assurances of high consideration.

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 8, 1805.

1 A subscription paper for her *History*.

MRS. JUDITH SARGENT MURRAY TO MERCY WARREN

BOSTON, FRANKLIN PLACE, *June* 1st, 1805

RESPECTED MADAM, — It was with pride, and pleasure, that I received your Prospectus — pride, that my name was still found written in the volume of your memory, and pleasure, that you had at length determined to endow the world with a production it has long wished to see issue from the press, upon which anticipation delights to dwell, and which is considered as a fund in reserve, containing historical facts, biographical information, moral truths, and elevated sentiments, cloathed in habiliments, whose substantial texture are evincive of strong, and abundant resources, inwove with all the brilliant, and variegated powers of fancy, and receiving their beautiful finishing, and last gloss, from the fashioning hand of elegance and taste. May your volumes obtain the celebrity they will no doubt merit, and may the publication look with a benign aspect upon the evening of your useful, and dignified career.

I have been induced to delay returning the subscription paper, by a hope of augmenting my list of suffrages, but I have been disappointed. I persuade myself, it is not necessary to observe, that I have not been negligent in exhibiting your proposals but, in almost every instance, apologies have been the only result of my solicitations. The Life of Washington,[1] it is said, forestals, if not wholly precludes, the utility of this history; and, very many urge the political principles attributed to the otherwise admired writer, as a reason for withholding their signatures. Genius revolts from an idea so contracted; but Genius is not possessed by the multitude, and Mrs. Warren must be apprized, that, in this Commercial Country, a taste for Literature has not yet obtained the ascendency.

I have the honour to reciprocate those sentiments of amity, which constitute the conclusion of your letter, and I am, with affectionate admiration, etc., etc., Madam, your most obedient

J. SARGENT MURRAY

1 By John Marshall. See Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall*, III. 223.

JOHN DICKINSON TO MERCY WARREN

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND, — Thy Letter with its Inclosure came to my Hands Yesterday, for which I return many Thanks.

Thy Approbation I consider as a real Honor, and it is greatly endeared to Me, by coming from a Sister of my very deserving and highly valued Friend James Otis.

Our Acquaintance with one another was formed at the first Congress held at New York, in the Year 1765; and it soon grew into Friendship.

At this distant Period I have a pleasing Recollection of his Candor, Spirit, Patriotism and Philanthropy. [With a lon]ger continued Existence on this Earth [than was] allotted to him, I have endeavoured, as well as I could, to aid the Cause in which his Heart was engaged, by asserting and maintaining the Liberties, for which he would have been willing to share in all the Distresses of our Revolution, and, if necessary, to lay down his Life.

It soothes my Mind, to hear this pure Testimony to departed worth.

May Divine Goodness graciously bestow on his Relations, a plentiful portion of Consolations.

Thy generous Exertions to inform thy fellow Citizens, and to present thy Country before the World in a justly favorable Light, will be, I firmly believe, attended with the desired Success. With every respectful Consideration I am thy Sincere Friend,

JOHN DICKINSON

WILMINGTON the 25th of the 9th Month 1805.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MERCY WARREN

Th: Jefferson presents his respectful compliments to Mrs. Warren and his thanks for the copy of her History of the American revolution which he received yesterday.[1] his emploiments have not yet permitted him to enter on it's reading; but he

1 A copy of the *History* was in the Jefferson Library when purchased for the Library of Congress.

anticipates much pleasure from the perusal of a work which taking truth, both of fact and principle, for it's general guide, will furnish in addition original matter of value, not before given to the public.

He prays Mrs. Warren and Genl. Warren to accept his friendly salutations and assurances of high respect and esteem.

WASHINGTON, *Apr.* 26, '06.

JOHN DICKINSON TO MERCY WARREN

MY GREATLY ESTEEMED FRIEND, — In thy Intercourse with the World thou must have observed, how much Pleasure may be derived from a Communion of Minds without personal Acquaintance: That Pleasure I perceive to be strongly communicated by thy Correspondence.

I am gratefully sensible of thy kind Enquiries about my Health. Excepting a pain in the small of my Back at times severe, it is good, considering my Age, having entered upon my seventy fifth Year on the thirteenth Day of last Month. I see, and hear, and walk, and ride, as well as I did in my Youth. Such an old Age could hardly be expected by a Man born in the Middle part of Maryland.

These and several other Circumstances, relating to private Condition are gratifying: But — When I look at the State of the world, I see Cause, according to the apostolic Language, to be "troubled on every Side, and perplexed; but not despairing."

Great Changes have taken place; and as great, I presume, will succeed. Human Affairs are now flowing along in a vast Torrent. It will not continue. It does not appear to Me likely, that any of the Actors in the present Tragedies will establish the Jews in the Land of Canaan.

The best Commentators I have met with, when speaking only of their general Conversion, represent that Event as two or three Centuries remote.

That Nation is indeed, to use thy Expression, "a standing Miracle," and most certainly and wonderfully will be instrumental in accomplishing the divine purposes.

Connected with their general Conversion will be the mighty Revolution in papal Christendom, and the fall of the Turkish Empire.

These Things seem to be rapidly approaching; yet, they are not very near, unless some Errors have been committed by Commentators in their Calculations.

Tho I do not believe the present state of France to be particularly designated in any Prophesy, yet I doubt not, but her Conduct will under providential superintendence, be made to promote beneficent Plans of Infinite Wisdom.

When I recollect, how amazingly the Roman Conquest facilitated the propagation of the Religion of our Blessed Saviour, I cannot forbear applying to him the Expressions used by the poet with an other Meaning —

> For him the self-devoted Decii dyed,
> The Scipios conquered, and the Fabii fell.

Again — When that Empire having attained its utmost Grandeur, as all things human how ever magnificent tend to Decay, was dissolving, to how many barbarous Nations "walking in Darkness," did its expiring Agonies convey the Light of the Gospel!

Coming nearer to our own Days we may observe, that when the Christian Verity was deeply corrupted, the Abomination of the Court of Rome and the inordinate passions of Princes, became subservient to a wholesome Reformation.

In this Retrospection it is found, first, that the Effects produced, were directly contrary to the Intentions of the Agents: and secondly, that the Agents were generally bad Men.

Such Instances of over-ruling Government, seem to hold for Encouragement in these convulsive seasons. "The Lord reigneth, let the Earth rejoice."

Limited as our Capacities are, We are favored so far as to perceive, that the Sovereign of the Universe can deduce Good out of Evil; and that he is inclined so to do: But our sentiments on this Head must be mingled with pure Humility, for "who hath known the Mind of the Lord? or, who hath been his Councellor?"

That every happiness may attend the Sister of the Man I loved, herself worthy to be loved, is the Prayer of thy sincere Friend

JOHN DICKINSON

WILMINGTON, the 22d of the 12 Month, 1806.

I received from Matthew Carey of Philadelphia on the 4th of the last ninth Month, the two setts of thy valuable History for which I had subscribed, and paid him for them twelve Dollars.

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 4 *Feb.*, 1807

MADAM, — I cannot avoid writing to express the pleasure I derived from reading your history of the revolution. It is a well digested and polished narrative, and gave great satisfaction. But I am afraid you will not believe my praise unless qualified with some remarks to shew that I gave it a critical reading. To say that we are pleased with a book, that we have read so carelessly, as hardly to know what is in it, is hardly giving any praise at all. It is only saying that we met with nothing offensive, and that is hardly to be deemed praise. I must therefore give you proof that I have read it.

In Vol 1. It is said that Mr. Bernard retired with a title and a pension of a thousand pounds sterling a year. Of the pension I have nothing to remark, but the proof of royal favor in granting him a title was a considerable time before he left the government. I have heard Mr. Otis fill up a Chasm in his public speech, with Mr. Bernard's titles at full length "His excellency Sir Francis Bernard of Nettleham, Baronet, Governor and Commander in chief of his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts in New England, and vice Admiral of the same." To a man of the Governor's disposition, pleased with those little exterior circumstances, the ridicule was well applied and the hearers generally understood it.[1]

1 In April, 1769, Bernard was created a baronet as of Nettleham in the county of Lincoln.

In the last Volume I suspect an anachronism, as respecting one of the attacks on the island of Jersey. The first expedition was some time in the summer, I believe before Cornwallis had got into difficulty in Virginia. Yet the Commodore is charged with blame in not hastening to America where he might be wanted. I do not know how it would stand on a strict comparison of dates. This was merely the impression made on me in reading.

There are several passages in the course of the work which mark the goodness of the Author's mind, and probably if her system of kind treatment could be applied to a state of war, the condition of mankind would be ameliorated. But I have serious doubts whether the maxims of friendly intercourse can be applied to such a state. It seems to me that the nature of war requires the parties to do all the hurt they can. The mildest, that has been supposed to [be] a true maxim, is that the conquerors succeede to all the rights of government, possessed by their immediate predecessors. In some cases this may be true, where an extensive country is obliged to submit, the Victor wants the revenue, and of course must preserve things as free from change as possible, not indeed from any sense of duty to the vanquished, but from a regard to his own interest. This does not go so far as to justify a state of war, but merely to define the rights resulting from that state. War is a state that I believe is always to be deprecated, when it does not arise from inevitable necessity. But when one nation, depending on its strength and not on the justice of its cause, makes war upon another, the necessity of war is inevitable on the part of the invaded State. The two nations are to be considered as two individuals in a state of nature. The invader will do all he can to enforce submission or to destroy his antagonist; the invaded has acquired a right to do all he can to repel or even to destroy the invader. In the quarrel of two individuals, it ends with the life of one of them, when carried to the utmost length of war. In such a case between nations it ends with the submission or conquest of one of the parties. This is the political death of one of the nations. Private citizens are only to be considered as members of the body politic, and in a dispute between two governments, their subjects immediately are exposed to annoyance, as

members of the same body with the government. It will not do for the citizen to say because I am not concerned in directing national affairs I am in no degree answerable for the public proceedings. All being members of the same body, and joined in the same social compact, must stand or fall together. A Government making war without its subjects is as bad a supposition as a man's head quarrelling with a neighbor without the support of hands or feet.

As to the right of retaliation for all unnecessary cruelty it appears to me as strict a right as that of defence in any other form. No principles of morals oblige us to take all the disadvantage of our principles, and leave all the advantage of them to the adversary. When the enemy admits a good principle in common with us, we are bound to allow him as much benefit from it, as we derive from it ourselves. But if the enemy denies or resists the rule of good conduct, he ceases to be a christian, and becomes in our view an heathen and a subject of coërcion. Don't set me down as an heretic, tho' this is my construction of the good book.

My respects to the General. Mrs. Hilliard joins in good wishes to you and your family. I am, Madam, with much respect Your obedient Servant

James Winthrop

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

Quincy, *March* 9th, 1807

My Dear Mrs. Warren,— To your kind and friendly Letter I fully designed an immediate replie, but a severe attack of a Rheumatick complaint in my Head has confined me to my Chamber for several weeks and renderd me unable to hold a pen. tho recovering from it, my head still feels craked: shatterd I am sure it is. you will therefore pardon any inaccuracy I may commit. my Health which you so kindly inquire after, has been better for two years past, than for many of those which preceeded them. I am frequently reminded that here I have no abiding place. I bend to the blast. it passes over for the present and I rise again.

your Letter, my dear Madam, written so much in the stile of Mrs. Warren's ancient Friendship, renewed all those sensations which formerly gave me pleasure, and from which I have derived sincere and durable gratification, and I anticipate a still closer and more cordial union in the world of spirits to which we are hastening, when these earthly tabernacles shall be moulderd into Dust.

If we were to count our years by the revolutions we have witnessed, we might number them with the Antediluvians, so rapid have been the changes: that the mind tho fleet in its progress, has been outstripped by them, and we are left like statues gaping at what we can neither fathom, or comprehend.

you inquire what does mr. Adams think of Napolean? If you had asked Mrs. Adams, she would have replied to you in the words of Pope,

> If plagues and earthquakes brake not heavens design
> Why then a Borgia or a Napoline?

I am Authorized to replie to your question, What does mr. Adams think Napoleon was made for? "My answer shall be as prompt and frank as her question. Napoleon's Maker alone can tell all he was made for. in general Napoleon was, I will not say made, but permitted for a cat-o'nine-tails, to inflict ten thousand lashes upon the back of Europe as divine vengeance for the Atheism, Infidelity, Fornications, Adulteries, Incests, and Sodomies, as well as Briberies, Robberies, Murders, Thefts, Intrigues, and fraudelent speculations of her inhabitants, and if we are far enough advanced in the career, and certainly we have progressd very rapidly, to whip us for the same crimes, and after he has answerd the end he was made, or permitted for, to be thrown into the fire. now I think I have meritted the answer from Mrs. Warren which she has promised me to the Question, what was Napoleon made for?"

May I ask Mrs. Warren in my turn, what was Col. Burr made for? and what can you make of him or his projects? enveloped in as many Mystery as Mrs. Ratcliff's castle of udolphus? how he mounted to power we know, and a faithfull historic page ought to record, and after he had answered the end for which he was

permitted, we know how he fell. what is yet left for him to perform, time must unveil.

I thank you, my Dear Madam, for your inquiries after my Daughter. she was well a few days since. she had Letters from her son dated in Novbr. he was then at Trinidad where he expected to pass the winter. a don Quixot expedition [1] which could never have met with his Grandfathers or my assent or consent, if it had been known to us before he had saild. it has been a source of much anxiety to us, and to his Mother.

I cannot close this Letter, without droping a sympathizing tear with you over the remains of your belovd Neice, and my valued Friend.[2] She was from her youth all that was amiable Lovely and good, the youthful companion of my daughter, I always saw her with pleasure, and parted from her with regret. She was endeard to me by the misfortunes of her youth which from her strong sensibility and dutifull affection, I was frequently made the depositary of her sorrow and tears. She always exprest for me a sincere Regard. when I learnt her new engagement, knowing the delicate state of her Health, I feard she might find it too arduous for her, but her companion she had long known, esteemd and valued as his many virtues deserved.

Heaven spared her to act well the Mothers part towards her sons, to whom she devoted herself and having reared them to Manhood, for wise ends which we cannot comprehend, took her out of Life, what can we say, but that the ways of Heaven are dark and intricate.

I pray you to present Mr. Adams's and my regards to Genll. Warren. we both of us rejoice to hear that he enjoys so much health at his advanced period of Life. we shall always be happy to hear of the welfare of Friends whom we have loved from our early years and with whom we have past many, very many social hours of pleasing converse, in unity of Bond and Spirit. with Sincere Regard I subscribe your Friend

Abigail Adams

1 That of Francisco Miranda.

2 Mary Otis, widow of Benjamin Lincoln, Jr., and wife of Rev. Henry Ware of Cambridge. She died February 17, 1807.

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE 11 *March*, 1807

MADAM, — Your letter of 4th Feb. I was favored with, and I need not add gratified by receiving on the tenth of that month. It was written at the same time with mine and gave me additional pleasure when I recollected that we thought of writing at once.

There was no doubt in my mind, that you had sufficient evidence to justify the statement made in your history respecting Mr. Bernard's civil promotion. The Remembrancer does not contradict my idea, that he was made a *baronet* before he quitted his government. This is an high and the only hereditary order of knighthood. The Remembrancer states that after his leaving America he was still further promoted to the title of *Baron Nettleham.* This was ennobling him. I had never, till the receipt of your valuable letter, any knowledge of this last promotion, and do now rather suspect that the compilers of the Remembrancer, tho' in general they may be correct, have in this instance confounded the two things and that Mr. B. remained *Sir Francis* till his death, without acquiring the degree of *My Lord.* At any rate an historian in following the documents, is intitled to the respect of the reader, and is exempted from any charge of inattention or carelessness. But when a work so extensive as yours discovers such long continued attention in arranging multiplied materials into an elegant and well formed narrative, there is not only a freedom from blame, but a great degree of praise attached to the author. The Major, I presume, told you of the other part of my remark, made to him at the same conversation, "that if I was about to review the book, for the public eye, such a minute criticism I should be ashamed to insert."

Please to present my respects to the General and your young friends, whom I also claim as belonging to my list.

Accept my sincere condolance on the death of Mrs. Ware. It is a melancholy proof that even the best principles when carried to excess terminate in evil. Nobody doubts her being a woman whose conduct was regulated by piety and good conscience; yet perhaps a fear that she had not come up to her own standard, by occupying

too much of her attention, produced such a dreadful subversion of mind.[1] I am, Madam, very sincerely Your most obedient servant

JAMES WINTHROP

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 3 *May*, 1808

MADAM, — A few days ago I received the honor of your letter of 20th April, and need not add, was flattered by the sentiments of friendship contained [in] it. The pleasure it gave me by the assurance, that all our Plymouth Friends are in health, was very great, and next in degree to the enjoyment of my own health. Your polite invitation to take a trip to Plymouth, I hope, will take effect some time in July. Our Courts will hold on till the latter part of June, as they have for two months past, every second week, and sometimes oftener. They hardly leave me time to rest myself between them. From the end of June to the middle of August, we shall have a vacation, and hope to improve part of it in a tour to the old Colony, and to have the honor of paying my respects in person to you and the General. Not that I consider the reason assigned in your letter as the most operative; tho' generally I feel disposed to adopt your reasoning, but in this instance it would grieve me to have it just. The reason implied in the question "Do you not wish to see your old friend General Warren once more before he is gathered to the band of worthy patriots who are swept off before him?" is, that the time may be short. True, it may be short, but I hope otherwise. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing him many times, and enjoying his conversation often, before our separation.

It is to me surprizing that a political faction should have been able to produce so great an effect on the mind of the community, by their misrepresentations of the embargo. The election of Senators seems to be so far influenced as to deprive the republicans of

1 The series of letters exchanged between Mrs. Warren and John Adams in July and August, 1807, on her *History*, is printed in 5 *Collections*, IV. 317. In the same volumes are letters from Elbridge Gerry to Mrs. Warren on the controversy and breach of intercourse to which it led and on the eventual reconciliation, largely due to Gerry's tactful handling.

their majority at that board, and merely to gratify a few traders, who depend on the commercial credit given them by Great Britain. Those merchants, whose large capitals enable them to trade to all parts of the World, are represented as acknowledging the wisdom of the embargo. A few men, whose politics reach no further than their own counting house, and their habitual course of negotiation, seem to think the whole world is going to overset, because they are for a little while interrupted. A very little attention would shew them how to employ their stock in a different mode, by which the community would be enriched and the nations who have interrupted our old modes of supply would be punished by the permanent loss of our customs.[1]

Mrs. Hilliard joins in respects to the General and you, and is much gratified to find by the friendly inquiries you made respecting her that she has not slipt through your memory. Please to present my remembrances to your Sons, who sometimes *dot in* upon us, but will not be prevailed on to make a visit. I intend to be better in this respect than they. I am, Madam, with much respect, Your most obedient Servant,

James Winthrop

James Winthrop to Mercy Warren

Cambridge, 1 *Octo.*, 1808

Dear Madam, — I am much gratified by a visit from your eldest son, who is now here. He did me the honor of presenting your letter, which contains a review of my book consistent with your habitual politeness.[2] I will not teaze you with a long argument on this subject, for to be honest about the matter, we all of us have our own courses of reasoning, and I cannot expect those, who have been used to a different theory, at once to abandon it for

1 This situation led to the election of James Lloyd, Jr., and the resignation of John Quincy Adams as United States Senator from Massachusetts. See "The Recall of John Quincy Adams in 1808," *Proceedings*, xlv. 354.

2 This could refer to his *Attempt to translate the Prophetic Part of the Apocalypse of St. John into Familiar Language*, Boston, 1794, or *Attempt to arrange in the Order of Time those Scripture Prophecies yet remaining to be fulfilled*, Cambridge, 1803, or his essay, about to be published, *Appendix to the New Testament.*

the sake of supporting mine. I confess therefore that I did not expect so many complimentary expressions, where I did not hope so much for conviction, as to lay open what I think a connected System. What the clergy consider as a political statement, I consider as the application of prophecy to the visible church comprehending the whole body of believers. The raising of the new order of things in their favor, as is now going on, I consider as the Kingdoms of the World becoming the Kingdoms of the Lord, and the resistance of the Popish and British powers as producing that time of trouble of which Daniel speaks in the beginning of his last chapter.

In Justification of this mode of applying it, I will at present only state, that all the commentaries on the Revelation, that I have seen, begin with applying the prophecy to the visible church, and to human empires, until their stock of history was run out. Many of the boldest figures of the Apocalypse are agreed to apply to events that have already taken place. The beginning of the ninth chapter is agreed to shew the rise of the Mohometans, and that of the thirteenth to relate in the same manner to Popery. Yet, as if the Commentators were afraid to trust their own principles of construction, they have supposed both these powers destined to a miraculous fall. I have taken the same principles and read the whole book by them, and find them true and the book also intelligible, consistent and true.

Let me ask, where would have been the surprise, if the whole matter had been expected, as it has happened? Yet you will find toward the conclusion of each series, into which John divides his book, abrupt warnings to be upon the watch. That the book shall remain obscure till toward the conclusion, when it shall become plain. Charge not my opinion with vanity, If I say the book now under consideration resolves the problem.

Pardon my having trespassed so long upon your patience. It was not intended at the setting out.

By Mr. Warren I send for your perusal two small volumes containing the poems of Sir William Jones.[1] Knowing your taste for fine writing, I have presumed, that you will incline to look into

1 *Poems, consisting chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages*, 1772.

the Hindoo mythology, and that you [will] be pleased at finding his elegant pen employed in giving that mythology an English dress.

Please to make my respects to the General and to the Major and his family. It is not from forgetfulness if we do not communicate oftener. I am, Madam, with perfect respect Your most obedient servant

JAMES WINTHROP

The passion flower which I undertook to preserve was lost. I then desired Mrs. Craigie to preserve one, and she undertook it I have sent to her this afternoon for it but she has forgot, what book she put it in, but has promised to look for it and send it here. She was sorry for having mislaid it.

SAMUEL LATHAM MITCHILL TO MERCY WARREN

WASHINGTON, *Novr.* 28, 1808

MADAM, — As one of the joint committee appointed by the two houses of congress to provide books for their Library, I do myself the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your history of the rise, progress and termination of the American revolution. By some oversight of the committee, it had happened, that your excellent performance had not been purchased. It has therefore arrived in good season and is the more acceptable to us. And they who search this collection, for the history of their country, will be sure to find the Volumes of Mrs. Warren on the same shelf, with those of Gordon, Ramsay and Marshall.

Permit me to assure you of my high and sincere respect.

SAM. L. MITCHILL

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 11 *Decr.*, 1808

MADAM, — Tho' nothing is to be expected from me, on the melancholy occasion of the death of a friend,[1] which is not already

1 General Warren died at Plymouth, November 27, 1808.

familiar to your own mind, yet as novelty is not always to be steered for, but the satisfaction of comparing ideas, and being reminded by our friends of the consolations, which we have administred to others in affliction, I hope you will not consider my condolence as impertinent. It is impossible that the habitual exchange of good Offices between you and General Warren, which continued for half a century, with unremitted attention on both parts, should now be suspended, without your feeling an important loss of happiness. Though we all admit that the necessity of parting with our friends must at some time or other operate, yet we are seldom prepared to say, that now is the right time. But let us endeavor to satisfy ourselves, upon almost any supposition, that a different time would be better, and we shall find so much greater inconveniences staring us in the face, as to oblige us to relinquish our amendment, and to confess that Providence has contrived the event better for us than we could for ourselves and that he does not willingly afflict his children. When we consider how soon the services of a valuable man are forgotten, even by those who knew him in his best days, we can hardly form a wish, that a friend should outlive his usefulness, and should for any length of time survive that energy of mind, which made us respect him. This is an inconvenience necessarily attached to extreme old age. On the other hand, it is exceedingly grievous to lose a friend in the vigor of life, and while there was a prospect of many years usefulness to others, and of enjoyment to himself. Between these extremes is the case before us. Having lived in times that required uncommon exertion, and acquitted himself with honor, having without any remarkable decay of either body or mind surpassed the age which even but few attain, he died peaceably in the bosom of his family, wept by them, and regretted by his other friends. If death can ever be a kindly visitant, it must I think be in such circumstances. I am sensible that at the first stroke, feelings must have their way, but if we can for a moment interrupt grief by the suggestions of reason, or the still more consoling prospects of another life, every succeeding effort will be better than the former, and the mind becomes tranquillized under our loss. I know that to press these things upon your well regulated mind, would not only

be impertinence but folly in me. You have so often been called by the loss of very valuable friends to fortify your mind, You are so well instructed in the doctrines of the bible, and in the principles and hopes of Christianity, that while you consider the parting of friends as an evil, you find it diminished by the idea of its being temporary. "We shall rest for a season, and stand in our lot in the latter days." Tho' death is the last enemy that will be overcome, yet he must at last submit, and we trust that ourselves with many who have gone before us, will have the benefit of the promise.

I trust you have seen a tribute of respect to the memory of the General in last Thursday's *Chronicle*.[1] It would have found its way there sooner, if I had not expected it from some other quarter.

My respects to your sons and connections. I am Madam with perfect respect Your most obedient Servant

James Winthrop

For a rarity this letter was written without the aid of glasses and revised with them.

Harrison Gray Otis to Mercy Warren

Boston, 4 *feby.*, 1809

My dear Aunt, — If I could allow the right of any person to interrogate me as to "what I am about," you may well suppose that there is no individual of your political party, whom I would prefer for a confessor to your much respected self. But it certainly must occur to you that if I have really turned conspirator against the State, I ought not to put it even in your power to hang me; nor even to write a letter which under the present arbitrary government, might by a forced construction, if found by accident, be construed into evidence of treason. Your enquiry therefore if it extends to my secret machinations, you must permit me to decline, and if it applies only to my overt acts, it is superfluous, as they will appear on record in the public and political bodies with which I am associated.

1 December 8.

To be serious, my dear Aunt, my respect and affection for you, are so utterly at variance with the political views and party attachments which to my great sorrow and mortification, you have been led to embrace; that I have for twenty years, studiously evaded all discussions of the last, lest the former might be brought into jeopardy. And from this determination I cannot consent to be diverted, at this late period of your existence, when my duty and your afflictions equally require, that all the sentiments which I have an opportunity to express to you, should breath nothing but tenderness consolation, and respectful love. To mingle with these the acidulating, corrosive ingredients of political creeds, would be to turn the milk of human kindness into poison. I will not engage in such a process. I will not disturb the vale which is consecrated to repose, and bedewed with sorrow, by the noisy echos of party disputes. I will not agitate the groves of cypress and weeping willows by the noise and bustle of excited passions. When I enter these retirements I will put off my shoes. When I write to them my letters shall not be bearers of the "fierce debate and tart reply," but so far as depends on me, they shall be the messengers of affection and of peace.

It was my firm intention to have made you a visit soon after the death of my uncle, but I have been constantly overwhelmed with the concerns of others from which I have not been at liberty to escape. Whether I live in vain or even worse than in vain, I can truly say, I have not yet had a chance of living much for myself, nor for the pleasures and advantages of sweet communion with any particular connections. I sometimes am so sanguine as to hope that these blessings are not forever alienated from me even in this world, but the hours fly, and my white hairs become daily more discernible.

My family all unite with me, in the sincere assur[ance] of regard and duty to you and yours, with w[hich] I am, dear Madam, Your dutiful Nephew,[1]

H. G. Otis

1 A letter from Elbridge Gerry to Mrs. Warren, June 5, 1809, is in 5 *Collections*, IV. 498.

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

Sept. 4, 1809

MADAM, — When I wrote last, and to which your very polite answer of 19 Aug. has been received, I did not mean to waste any of your time in wandering through the mazy nonsense of heathenism, but only to suggest that in the origin of society consecration to religious uses was one of the arts used to preserve useful knowledge and useful things from being destroyed by an unthinking people. The consecration lasted in many cases longer than the reason on which it was founded. Many useful improvements were preserved among the Hebrews by being applied to the service of the tabernacle. Now in a cultivated state of Society it would be superstitious to accumulate things of the kind in churches, when there are so many reasons for preserving them in other places. Hence I rather consider the heathen idolatry, as exceeding the reason on which it was founded, and lasting much longer than any consecration reasonably required. Some things in it were too gross to admit even of this palliation and we can only say with the Apostle, that they were times of ignorance. Since the Gospel has appeared and brought with it light to all nations, this ignorance has been gradually decreasing, and I think we stand a good chance to see the bible universally allowed to be preached in all countries. The vast extension of European Colonies within a few years past, and the pains taken to distribute the bible in the native language of each country are circumstances which promise speedily to realize the Universality of the Gospel.

I am a little apprehensive that the passion flower suffered on its journey. It is very tender, and is hardly ever, when left upon the vine, found expanded on the second day. If any body in Plymouth has Martyn's botany, there is an handsome figure of it, and if the plates are colored, as is sometimes the case, It is a good likeness.

My Brother's catalogue [1] is not sent to the press and it seems to me that he aims at an ideal perfection which prevents us from having it at all. He is now gone to Brunswick commencement.

You must not let any despondency cloud the evening of your

1 William Winthrop and a manuscript catalogue of Harvard graduates.

days. Some clouds seemed to be hovering about when you wrote last, but there were also clear shinings between them. And I am in hopes that every effort will be attended with success, which has for its object the giving permanence to the habitual serenity of your thoughts.

Every time I receive your signature, it gladdens my heart, by proving that my name is recorded in your memory. But this is not the only pleasure. I always find those just sentiments in the letter which are worthy of your adoption. I am, Madam, very sincerely Your most obedient Servant

JAMES WINTHROP

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 12 *Nov.*, 1809

MADAM, — Agreeably to your directions of the 4th instant I saw Mr. Baldwin, and requested the loan of Mr. Dickenson's works. He had been prepared for the application by Judge Thatcher, and with great politeness agreed immediately. I have, however, no doubt of his complying even as readily as he did, without any such previous application. The goodness of his disposition and the habitual intercourse between us would have been sufficient. To morrow I propose to carry the books to Boston in order to their being forwarded in the way you propose. I long to see Maria, but hardly expect it this time, so give my love to her when you see her.

You have often checked me for indulging in such levity of imagination, and trivial conversation; but I do it partly upon the principle of its restoring the equilibrium of my faculties, when fatigued by severe application either to study or business. I find by experience, that what is called *generous living* does not answer the end. Two or three times since my last visit to Plymouth, I have tried a glass of wine, but it each time did me hurt. With respect to the produce of the vine I am almost a *nazarite*, and find the meagre draft of warm water to produce more uniform health and spirits, than is derived from wine.

About three months ago I collected my tracts on the prophecies,

and republished them, with some additional remarks.[1] The whole makes a book of about the size of a Psalm Book. The printer undertook to sell them and to allow a year for doing it, provided I would advance a certain sum to begin, and I promised at the same [time] not to distribute any till he had made his trial. I believe he has sold about *half a dozen in this vicinity*. If it goes on in the same proportion in other towns, I must make my savings against next summer in order to indemnify him.

In the additional remarks one or two pages are bestowed upon the New testament principles of health. It is hoped that the clergy, if any of them will be at the trouble of examining them, will find the opinions sufficiently orthodox. The privation of the Pope of his temporal sovereignty is an additional proof of our general theory.

My best respects to your immediate connexions, and my best wishes for the confirmation of your health and prosperity. I am, Madam, with great respect Your most obedient servant

JAMES WINTHROP

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 25 *July*, 1810

MADAM, — This morning I received the honor of your letter dated the 20th and it can hardly be necessary to say that I was exceedingly gratified. The ease and the politeness with which you have stated your opinions upon certain points of our faith, discover the same elevated and discriminating mind, which has always marked your writings, and been the admiration of your friends.

Though I have given a view of the subject of prophecy, which appears to me to be more connected and systematic, than any other work that has come to my hands on this subject; though my understanding is convinced, so that repeated reviews of the work have not shewn me any error; yet I cannot blame those whose habits of considering the subject are different from mine, for not

1 *Appendix to the New Testament*, printed by Hilliard and Metcalf, Cambridge, 1809.

being ready at once to change their opinions. We both look for the coming of the Lord, and for his setting up in some part of the creation, a visible kingdom, where his saints "will see him as he is," at that time; and the reason assigned is that they will have bodies like his. Whatever may be the texture of spiritual bodies, they will be discernible by spiritual organs, as material bodies are perceived by material organs. Hence Saint Paul draws the conclusion, that we shall be like him for we shall see him as he is. So far we all agree.

The question that remains is, where this is to be? It will be readily confessed, that it is equally in the power of Deity to prepare for himself a throne, either on this planet or in any other part of the Universe, on which he will not disdain to sit. Wherever it will be, his condescension will be manifested by his becoming the visible president of his creatures. Commentators in general have supposed some other place for the consummation of these prophecies, but I have adopted that which fulfils them here as being more systematic, and more consonant to the measuring of them by time. And I believe the system you have just read provides for all the times mentioned, and estimates those that are future by the same principles as those already past. This is an advantage.

The instances of visible translation which you have with so much ability stated all of them apply to the intermediate state. It is expressly declared of Christ that he will again appear to his disciples in the same visible form as when he was taken from among them. We believe the same thing of Enoch, Elijah, and all the dead saints. The mode of their recovery or return is no where explained but we believe in the event. Prophecy in this, as in most other instances, has mentioned the event without pointing out the mode. As a large part of the series is already completed, and appears to have come round naturally, the conclusion seems to be just that the residue will also be fulfilled in such a manner as to give the least possible shock either to our sense or our understanding. As for example Christ is to be the Universal Prince, the preparation is now making by the Union of a number of European States to establish a maritime law of Nations. This is

from time to time published by the head of the confederation. When this business has become Universal, the guardian of the law will reside at Jerusalem, and all the questions of the Intercourse between Nations will be referred to him, and his decision will be final. At present people are classing into parties upon this very question. One party looks with horror upon the European Confederation, while the other party thinks a law of nations to be precisely what is wanting to secure the freedom of the seas. But a law without any officer having authority to execute it, is an absurdity. Hence arises the need of an Universal Government, and as I read the prophecies such an one we shall have in about half a century. The Judgment on the Ancient establishments is now far advanced, and reckoning the fall of Antichrist as the signal, the time fast approaches for the triumph of the saints.

But I shall tire your patience, and must therefore conclude with adding the wishes of Mrs. Hilliard to my own that your health and enjoyment may still remain an happiness to those who are already advanced in life, and a light to those who are advancing. I am, Madam, very respectfully Your most obedient servant,

James Winthrop

James Winthrop to James Warren

Cambridge, 11 *Nov.*, 1810

Dear Sir, — I thank you for your *appendix* to Madam's letter. If I can learn what book or kind of book you wish to read, it will part of my happiness to help you to it. It is diverting to see Great Britain nestling in a distress of her own creating. When her orders in Council were made, it was with an evident view to monopolize all the trade of the World; but if she had, it could not have supported her. It is true that the trade of neutrals was cramped, and by the countervailing orders of France nearly annihilated. Very little trade was carried on with France, except by English vessels specially licensed by both governments, and the case was the same in England. Thus these two powers excluded neutrals and paid each other for making war. They have

now got to understand it. The neutrals have begun to establish manufactures for their own supply, the English have found so little vent for their fabrics, especially woollen, that they sell for little more than half the usual price, and when we take into consideration the improvement made by their importation of Spanish sheep, the cloths do not probably sell for a quarter of the price, that cloth of equal goodness would have borne two years ago. *Ça ira*, they fall into a pit of their own digging. Yours sincerely,

JAMES WINTHROP

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, *Decr.* 14, 1810

MADAM, — At the end of the College Vacation in February, I received from you Mr. Baldwin's books, accompanied by your charming letter. I immediately returned the books to the owner and delivered him your message. He desired me to make his respects to you, and to say that whenever he goes to Plymouth he will not fail to wait upon you. He was gratified with the idea of having rendered a service, tho' a small one, to a person of your eminence in the literary as well as polite world.

I have not seen the *Ægis*. Nobody here takes it. I take the *Chronicle* and other Democratic papers from Boston, except the *Patriot* which did not need aid. The eastern papers I took while they continued democratic. When they apostatised, they lost me for a customer. I do not now take the Boston papers for the sake of reading them, but it is necessary to contribute toward public information, and I have chosen the democratic side. The federals are willing to read if they are not called upon to pay. By this means readers are found. They do not however always read with judgment. An instance I recollect. One of my federal neighbors with whom the *Democrat* was left, sent it home after he had read it and sent me word that there was a most excellent speech of Mr. Otis in it. I a little wondered at the intelligence, and on searching for the speech found only the remarks upon it. It happened to be on the opposite side of the question from my

federal neighbor. To return, not having seen the *Ægis* I am unable to give any opinion of the review.

Though in a former letter I mentioned your friendly remarks as an inducement to try to justify indulging in light and trivial conversation, it was not done on any supposition of deficiency of candor on your part. So far from it, that if I had suspected any want of candor, I should not have given any reasons at all. But knowing the high value you set upon that virtue, I was willing to inform you of all the operations of my own mind, so far as they influence my outward conduct. The reasons did not arise from pique, but from confidence.

All this winter I have been occupied, except when engaged in business, in peeping into the Russian language. As I could not buy a dictionary, I have been engaged in epitomizing a borrowed one. It seems to be an odd pursuit for a person just compleating his fifty-eighth year; but it is not so bad as Cato the censor, who learned greek at upward of eighty. But the more languages we learn, the easier new ones become. We see more of their resemblance in construction and learn to apply general principles, as we do in other branches of knowledge. It every day becomes more evident, that all languages are branches of one original, as Moses has declared.

Mrs. Hilliard and Harriet send their respects, and thanks for your congratulations. The occasion however has not yet fully matured, but it is apprehended will take place.

I am glad to learn by Mr. Warren's letter, that your health continues as good as usual.[1] I am, Madam, with great respect Your most obedient servant,

JAMES WINTHROP

1 A letter from Elbridge Gerry to Mrs. Warren, November 7, 1811, is in 5 *Collections*, IV. 499.

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 8 *Feb.*, 1812

MADAM, — This morning I was honored with the receit of your letter of the 5th. inst. inclosing one of 31 Aug., 1811, intended to have been delivered by Mr. Judson Jr. When last at Plymouth I had the pleasure of seeing him, and the pleasure would have been renewed and heightened by his bringing your letter. I do not know how long it is since any communication has passed between us, but it is very long; and give me leave to add, that it has not been owing to neglect or forgetfulness on my part; but to the want of any other matter, than such as we suppose always exists in the minds of those, who are in the habit of friendly intercourse.

I should have been glad to have seen Mr. Judson [1] before his departure from his own country to Calcutta, but as by this time he has probably gone, the attempt to see him would be vain, and writing would be little if any better. I wish him all the success, that the nature and importance of his Enterprise deserve. As it respects Christianity, this is an eventful and interesting time. The Exertions made in England and in this country to propagate the knowledge of the Bible in the most remote and benighted corners of the earth, are so great and at present so prosperous; that a very few years will probably shew Christianity to be the prevailing religion all over the World. At present it is the only one of any note in America. In Russia it is the religion of the Government and generally predominant among the people. In India and the Islands, so far as they have been subjected by the English or Dutch, it is the religion of the Government and common among the people. In China and Persia the Government has little to do with it, but a large proportion of the people adopt it, and an enterprising Christian probably would not be without supporters. China and Japan still reject it. But as the power of the Christians prevails in India, it will not be long before some question arises between them and the Chinese, which may require force to determine. In that case the resistance of China would be very

1 Adoniram Judson (1788–1850), whose life was written by Francis Wayland (1853) and his son Edward Judson (1883).

short. These things will all be done within half a century. And about 1866 Mahometanism will be diverted, and the Messiah's Kingdom established at Jerusalem and the Arabian peninsula will be his *Domicil of Empire.* I wish Mr. Judson would send me a catalogue of the books printed in the Oriental languages at Calcutta with their prices, including bibles, dictionaries and grammars. They are printed to be sold cheap, but we want to regulate our expence, and not run into a thoughtless expenditure. If he has not already gone, I shall be obliged to you to get him to make a memorandum of my wish and as soon as he can after his arrival to transmit it to me. It is a branch of learning in which I am at present interested. If he has already gone, his father will have no objection to inserting such a clause in his first letter. If there be any expence in procuring such a catalogue, I will gladly defray it, but without it I know not what books to try for. Dr. Marchman the Baptist Missionary at Serampore, and one of their principal translators, will easily help him in this respect.

I hope your health remains good, and that your eyes have amended. Let me hear from you soon. My best regards to your children. I am with much respect, Madam, Your most obedient Servant,

JAMES WINTHROP

JAMES WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 13 *Decr.*, 1812

MADAM, — I hope your health continues as good as it has been for some time past. It is long since I have heard directly from Plymouth. Has any communication been yet received from Mr. Judson in India. How does his father bear his absence?

Two events have, since the Commencement of the French Revolution, taken place, which have satisfied me of the detestable maxims of the old governments of Europe, and convinced me that they ought to be extirpated. One of them was that Louis 16th. paid two armies at the same time for fighting with each other. As King of France he was commander in chief of all the armies

of the state, and he put them in motion to defend the country against the German Armies and the French Emigrants. He at the same time was paying the emigrants for invading their country, under the pretence of restoring the King to the ancient prerogatives, that he had himself renounced. When this fact was ascertained, it cost him his head.

The other events which characterize the extreme depravity of the old governments, are the late Conduct of the Russians in setting fire to their towns, when they found themselves unable to resist the french invaders in the field. They have claimed the honor of a great victory over the french army because they held in check the column of the latter which was on the right of the French and nearest to Moscow. In the centre and on the left Victory was decisive in favor of the French. So that as it respects the whole battle the Russians were the losers. Their subsequent conduct, shews pretty plainly what sort of victory they boasted of; for the next view we have of this same victorious army is that it retreated, the french continued their march toward Moscow, and the governor in despair of making any effectual defence set on fire and actually destroyed great part of the city, when the arrival of the French saved the remainder, and stopped the conflagration. If this can with any propriety of speech be called a victory it is difficult to determine what is not one.

Moscow is described as the most extensive town in Europe being about twenty four English miles in circuit, and tho' larger than London or Paris, did not probably contain more than a quarter of the population of either of those cities. The houses were chiefly of wood, and at a distance from each other. This accounts for the time it took to burn so much of the town as was consumed, and the number of fires to be kindled. But it seems the french Troops, whether from seeing the flames at a distance in the bearing of Moscow, or from other means of intelligence, took the alarm and arrived in time to save the greater part of the city. While the Russians were destroying their own towns and turning out the inhabitants at the beginning of winter to perish by cold and hunger, the french appeared as their saviors. Can there be any doubt to which party the affections of those distressed people

will incline? The same policy, barbarous and mistaken as it was, had been pursued by the Russians at Smolensko and other places which they had lost, and was pursued so constantly and systematically, as to leave little doubt of being grounded on imperial orders. But surely no government has a right to distress or destroy a part of their subjects, whom it finds itself unable to protect. Accordingly it has been the policy of European Nations, when they found it necessary to leave a place to the mercy of an enemy to withdraw their troops and let the inhabitants make the best terms they could with the victorious general. At the end of the War it has been customary to restore conquests. But what claim can a government have to the benefit of the rule, who consider it not as their duty to preserve their people, but suppose they have also a right to destroy them.

A reverse of the British influence seems to have taken place in Spain. Madison probably re-elected. All these things tend to give us peace.

Our friends here all join in respect to you and yours. please to accept my best respects for you and your children. I am, Madam, with great respect Your most obedient Servant

JAMES WINTHROP

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO MERCY WARREN

CAMBRIDGE, 17th *Decr.*, 1812

I have received, my dear Madam, your friendly letter of the 7th, and proposing a ride to Quincy yesterday, I called at the Post office and was favored with that of the 12th and with the copy it enclosed.

Your congratulations are always a source of great pleasure, especially when they respect my family or self; because I am sure they are the sincere effusions of friendship. Those which respect the health of Mrs. Gerry, as you justly conceive, relate to a primary object; one that is essential to my happiness. And those which regard my supposed election, are highly flattering; as well for the sanction they imply of my political conduct, as for the

interest they manifest, in whatever concerns myself or family. for these unequivocal expressions of your good opinion and friendship, accept Madam my sincere and grateful acknowledgments. The re-election of Mr. Madison was in my mind an event of vast magnitude; for had it been defeated, G. Britain would have had a well founded prospect of a triumph over our liberty, and with all the Powers of Europe, would have considered her corrupt influence over us, as being paramount to our political Virtue, and to our sense of national honor. My opinion of Mr. Madison, is perfectly coincident with your own; "that we have more to hope" from his election, than from that of any other person "that could have been selected in the U States." The Sphere of the Vice-President is contracted, and the public expectations, it is conceived, will not extend beyond its limits.

At Quincy, I had a very agreable Interview with President Adams and his Family; and in a tête à tête, with Mrs. Adams, I remarked on the pleasure which I had derived from the information received of her visit with her daughter and one of her grand daughters, to Plymouth. I likewise stated the pleasing impression made on my mind, by the proposition of the President for terminating the differences which had existed between him and yourself; to which she replyed, that as they were not accepted, the President did not regret this circumstance, conceiving as he did, that he had gone too far in his advances. This conversation happened, in the absence of the President, who was called on by a person in waiting, and who returning, prevented further observations. Circumstanced as this affair then was, I deemed it ineligible to pursue the subject further at that time; especially as Mrs. Adams appeared to me a little uneasy; and to be guarded in her observations. Should there be any future prospect of restoring mutual friendship to my respected, my highly respected friends; I shall pursue the object with unremitted endeavours.

I return the letters and answers by your Grandson Mr. Winslow Warren; and having attentively perused both, my desires are more ardent to terminate amicably, this unhappy dissention between a Lady and Gentleman; who were once affectionate friends, and always, Ornaments of Society. The productions alluded to, if they

should attain publicity, will be sedulously applied to the injury of the fame of both parties, by their respective enemies. I regret exceedingly, that existing circumstances, seem to increase the difficulty of approximating to each other my particular friends; but despair is inadmissible, in any case, accept, I pray you, Madam, with every member of your amiable family, the affectionate regards of my own, and of your sincere and respectful friend,

E. Gerry

P. S. A visit to Plymouth this winter, will I fear be impracticable. It would give me great pleasure.[1]

James Winthrop to Mercy Warren

Cambridge, 28 *Feb.*, 1813

Madam, — Your two letters of Jan. 6 and Feb. 21. I received with great pleasure in due season. The first of them gives a true, tho' melancholy picture of the weakness and absurdity of the old establishments of Europe, and of the World. They have been now for a number of years on the decline, and are now mostly blotted out from the map; or in the scripture style are judged by righteous men. We trust that a better order of things is begun on that Continent.

I am sorry for the disaster of the french army in the north. Napoleon's commission seems to be to reform the Western Roman Empire. Nearly all of it is now reduced. Only England still survives with the little kingdom of Portugal. This remainder will soon vanish. But the northern powers or Gog will require some time longer. Ezekiel, if I rightly understand his 39th chapter allows seven prophetic years or 2520 common years for the contest between the believers and unbelievers. These are to be reckoned from the rise of Antichrist in A D. 532. When the judgment on Antichrist begun in 1792, half the period was elapsed. At the

1 A letter from Mrs. Adams to Mrs. Warren, December 30, 1812, and Mrs. Warren's reply, January 26, 1813, are in 5 *Collections*, IV. 501, 503.

commencement of the second half begun the judgment on Antichrist, the 70 years of Jewish expectation and the Judgment on Gog or the northern powers. For this last Ezekiel allots seven months or 210 common years. It will therefore end about the year 2000. He says the place of their defeat shall be on the east side of the sea, in the valley of passengers, and shall be called the valley of Hamon Gog. Ez. xxxix. 11. 12. The valley of passengers or resort of travellers agrees remarkably well with the Netherlands, which have for many years been distinguished as a principal part of the *grand tour*, and are on the *East* side of the Ocean. If then that part of Europe is still to be the seat of war between the northern and southern states of Europe till Gog is exhausted, we may not look for its speedy reduction. The other powers we may consider as revolutionized already beyond a recovery. The Judgment on Antichrist will determine, according to Daniel, about 1821.

The federal or british party are much elated by the late distresses of the French army; but I believe their triumph will be short Mr. Madison's election goes but little way in the scale of these great events; but it shews the preponderating sentiment of our nation. It seems to me that Great Britain will hold Portugal but a very little longer. Their power in that country will be of still shorter duration, if they send any considerable reinforcement to Canada; for I do not think, they have army enough for both services.

I am sorry the missionaries failed of their admission to India, and suspect it was not so much owing to their being Americans, as to their design of teaching Christianity. I believe that at present the religion of the New Testament is at as low an Ebb in India as in any part of the World, unless it be in Japan. If I recollect rightly, Buchanan [1] says the Government there prefer a native heathen before a Christian for the Offices in their gift; and that a revenue is raised from some parts of Idolatrous worship. It is then no wonder that they are loth to establish a better system. The repulsed missionaries are reported to have gone to Madagascar. But they will probably not fare much better there.

1 Claudius Buchanan, who wrote much on mission work in Asia.

The island is now in possession of the English, who during the present war reduced the french colony there. The natives are still in a most barbarous state.

Accept reciprocal Congratulations on the Commencement of the New Year, and on having entered your 85th. Very few have the indulgence of so long a term for the enjoyment of their faculties in so much ease and comfort. It is however a blessing which your friends enjoy with you.

I am sorry for the disease of my friend Henry Warren. I have taken a week to enquire for some leeks, but have not yet met with any. There are none in the Botanic Gardens, nor in any other, that I can hear of in this vicinity. There are however some instances of outgrowing the disorder. The late Rev. Mr. Badger of Natic was one.[1]

My love, if you please, to Maria, I long to see her, and to your children. Mrs. Hilliard joins her good wishes to those of Mrs. Peck and myself for the continuance of your health and happiness. My brother has been unwell this winter, but is now pretty well reestablished. He superintends his farm in this neighborhood and about 18 months ago built him a new house on the old site, in which he lives. I am, Madam, with much respect Your most obedient servant,

James Winthrop

Abigail Adams to Mercy Warren

Quincy, *April* 9th, 1813

My dear Madam, — I cannot let my son pass through Plimouth without stoping to inquire after your Health, and that of your Family!

Nor of asking you who have lived many Years, and whose observations and experience must have excited in your mind, Reflections which ought not to terminate with your days.

what is your opinion of the great and important events which are taking place in the civilized world? will they terminate in the

1 Stephen Badger (1725–1803).

freedom and happiness of the Great Family of Man? and are the Members of that great Family capable of appreciating and enjoying so great a Blessing?

Do we who boast of being the most enlightend Nation use our Liberty, without abusing it? what shall we answer? verily we are Guilty.

So great a system seems to be unfolding that the mind is bewilderd in the contemplation. it can only rest upon the belief that there is a wise and just Moral Govenour of the universe, who will order and direct all things to his own Glory.

Let me again see the Signature of my Friend to convince me that she is yet a sublinary Being, which will give pleasure to her assured Friend,[1]

A. Adams

John Adams to Elbridge Gerry

Quincy, *April* 17, 1813

Dear Sir, — Since I have read again, your Law "for encouraging the fitting out armed Vessells," printed in Edes's *Watertown Gazette* of the thirteenth of November, 1775; I have had the Curiosity to look into several of our Historians, in order to see what notice they have taken of this Transaction, which had such important Consequences.

It was natural to begin with Mrs. Warren, as she was a native of this Province, a Daughter of the first Member of the Counsell, and the Consort of the Speaker of the House, composing the Legislature which enacted it. In the first Volume of her History, page 239, Chap. 7. 1775, after representing the want of Arms and Ammunition she says:

> These Circumstances accellerated a spirritted measure, before contemplated only by a few; the arming and equipping of ships to cruize on British Property, was a bold attempt, that startled the Apprehensions of many, zealously opposed to the undue exercise of British power; but necessity impelled, and the Enterprize

1 A letter from Elbridge Gerry to Mrs. Warren, April 20, 1813, is in 5 *Collections*, IV. 504.

was pursued. The General Assembly of the Massachusetts soon resolved to build, equip, and arm, a number of Vessels suitable for the purpose, to cruise and capture any British Ships that might be found, on or near their Coasts. They granted Letters of Marque and Reprisal to several Adventurers, and appoint Courts of Admiralty for the Tryal and condemnation of any captures within those Limits. By these means, the seasonable capture, in the beginning of this Enterprise, of a British Ship, laden with Ordnance, and an assorted cargo of warlike stores, sufficiently supplied the exegencies of the Army and dissipated the fears of those, who had suffered the most painful Apprehensions for the safety of their Country.

These Naval Preparations may perhaps be said, not to have been merely of a defensive nature, the Line yet avowedly observed by the Americans, But they had advanced too far to recede. Sophistical distinctions of Words or names were laid aside. It is a Fact of which every one is sensible that successful Opposition to arbitrary sway, places a civic crown, on the head of the Hero that resists; when contingences that defeat, confer an hempen cord, instead of a wreath of laurel. The Success and Catastrophe of the infant Navy of America, will be shewn in the succeeding Pages.

I should have expected that this ingenious Lady would have at least inserted your Law, which is certainly one of the most important Documents in the History of the World, in her Appendix to this volume. But no; the above Paragraph is all she says upon an Event so extreamly important to the Salvation of her Country at that time and at this. Had that Law been conceived or drawn by her Brother, her Father, or her Husband, Her Reader would have been favoured with a more ample detail and a more elegant panegyrick. But I presume this was written after She had conceived the horror of a Navy, which appears in other Parts of her History; and after she had acquired the habit of concording with my Enemies, in condemning me and my zeal to promote a Navy in 1798.

In page 247 are recorded the Proceedings of Congress towards a Naval Establishment, in a still more summary manner.

Many Gentlemen, sanguine in Opinion, that an American Navy was no Utopian project, but that her Marine might rapidly rise to a respectable height; engaged with an energy that seldom fails of carrying into execution any Attempt the human mind, on principles of reason is capable of forming. They accordingly built, on the large rivers from Portsmouth to Pensylvania, a Number of Vessels, Row Gallies, and Frigates, from four to forty Guns; fitted manned, and compleatly equipped them for Sea in the Course of a few Months. All encouragement was given both to public and private Adventurers, who engaged in the Sea

Service; Success was equal to expectation; many very valuable Prizes, and a vast number of Provision Vessels, from England, Ireland and Nova Scotia were captured, and by this means, the Americans were soon supplied, not only with the Necessaries for War, but with the conveniences and the Luxuries of Life.

Is this not strange, that one of the boldest, most dangerous and most important Measures and Epochas in the History of the New World The Commencement of an independent National Establishment of a new maritime and Naval military Power should be thus carelessly and confusedly hurried over? Had the Historian never read the Law of Massachusetts? Nor the Journal of Congress? One would think that this momentous Business was all performed by a few rash Individuals and private Adventurers.

History is not the Province of the Ladies. These three Volumes nevertheless contain many Facts, worthy of Preservation. Little Passions and Prejudices, want of Information, false Information, want of Experience, erroneous Judgment, and frequent Partiality, are among the Faults. Other Historians shall soon be examined, by your faithful Friend,

John Adams

John Adams to Elbridge Gerry

Quincy, *April* 26, 1813

Dear Sir, — Although Governor Gage's Prediction to General Jo. Warren has not yet been fully accomplished in this Country; yet as his observation was suggested by History, it will be found too just, some time or other. Selfishness has disappointed The Hopes of Patriotism and Philanthropy in all Ages, not only in England at the Period of her Commonwealth.

Edes's *Watertown Gazette* shall be carefully returned to you or Mr. Austin if he requires it.

Had your Motion in Congress been adopted, and a Man of Sense and Letters appointed in each State to collect Memorials of the Rise Progress and Termination of the Revolution: We should now Possess a Monument of more inestimable Value than all the Histories and Orations that have been written. *The Few*,

if they are not more selfish than *the Many*, are more cunning; and all the Ages of the World, have not produced such glaring proofs of it, as the History of this Country for the last thirty years. I look back with Astonishment at the Height and Depth, the Length and Breadth of this Stupendous Fabrick of Artifice. If I had suspicions of the Depravity of our Politicians, I had no Idea of their Genius. That Mr. Jay, the President of Congress when your motion was made, admired it, is no Surprize to me. His head could conceive and his heart feel the importance of it.

Your Allusion to the Controversy with Governor Hutchinson has touch'd me to the quick. I want the Journal of the General Court, which contains his Speeches and the Answers his Replications and your Rejoinders. These were printed alltogether in a Pamphlet. But I cannot find that Pamphlet nor hear of it. Governor Adams once showed it to me, and Judge Paine mentioned it to me, a year or two ago: but I dared not say a word to him about it, much less to ask the Loan of it.

You, my Friend, have been hurt by your Country: so have I. We have sacrificed our Lives our Families our Popularity, our Reputations our Pleasures our Comforts to the Publick: while the Politicians have accumulated Fortunes, Palaces in the City and Villas in the Country. It is in my opinion our duty to brave the Imputation of Vanity and Egotism by recording Facts that no other human Beings know. Our Country will be benefited by it, some time or other. There are a few Anecdotes which I wish to reduce to writing, particularly the Impeachment of the Judges and the Controversy with General Brattle.

You talk to me at seventy-seven Years of Age of Writing History. If I was only thirty, I would not undertake an History of the Revolution in less than twenty years. A few Facts I wish to put upon Paper: and an Awful Warning to do it soon has been given me by the Sudden Death of our Friend Rush. Livingstone and Clymer had preceeded him in the same Year; the same Spring.[1] How few remain. Three in Massachusetts I believe are a

1 Benjamin Rush died April 19, 1813; Robert R. Livingston, February 26; and George Clymer, January 23.

Majority of the Surviving Signers of a Declaration which has had too much Credit in the World, and the Expence of the most of its Signers.[1]

As a Man of Science, Letters, Taste, Sense, Phylosophy, Patriotism, Religion, Morality, Merit, Usefulness, taken altogether Rush has not left his equal in America, nor that I know in the World. In him is taken away, and in a manner most sudden and totally unexpected a main Prop of my Life. "Why should I grieve when grieving I must bear?"

I can conceive no reason why Governor Plumer may not be furnished with every Scratch of a Pen relative to the X, Y, and Z Embassy. I know not where to look for any one Paper relative to it.

It would give me great Pleasure to see Commodore Williams.[2] His List of Prizes would be very acceptable. I wish he would write his own Life. With high Esteem and strong Affection,

JOHN ADAMS

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

QUINCY, *June* 20, 1813

. . . . . .

Such is the warlike state of Nations and their various destinies, that we cannot calculate what is to be the end of these things, who are to be the conquerors, or why they thus destroy each other, but thus it has been from Age to Age, and will continue so, as long as time endures.

Whether Bonaparte is again to become the conqueror, time must decide.

The conduct of our own State Government cannot surely meet the approbation of any real American. I should much rather chuse, that the Name of my Family should be blotted from the page of History, than appear upon Record as the proposer of

1 Samuel Adams died in 1803, leaving John Adams, Robert Treat Paine and Elbridge Gerry the surviving Signers from Massachusetts. Paine and Gerry died in 1814.

2 John Foster Williams (1743–1814), but he does not appear to have held the rank of commodore.

such a Resolution as past the Senate in their late Session.[1] I do not view this war, as waged for conquest, or ambition, but for our injured Rights, for our freedom, and the security of our Independence, and therefore shall rejoice when any Naval victory, or military success attend upon our Arms, which may give us any hope or prospect of Peace, which always ought to be the object aimed at, and I sincerely believe is so by our Government. most sincerely do I wish that war could have been avoided.

I inclose to you for your perusal several Letters from my son,[2] they will perhaps give you a better Idea of the contending powers than I am able to. you will be so good as to return them when read.

I am dear Madam with sentiments of Love veneration and esteem, your Friend,

ABIGAIL ADAMS

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

QUINCY, *July* 11th, 1813

MY DEAR MADAM, — I received your obliging favour with the Letters inclosed, and was gratified that the sentiments which they containd met your cordial approbation, and excited congenial feelings in the Bosoms of your sons — if I may judge from the marks which distinguish them.

I have indeed great cause for pleasure and satisfaction, in the ability, integrity, and fidelity with which my son has devoted himself to his Country, and if in the hand of providence he may be instrumental in restoring peace to it, it will enhance every other pleasure and compensate me for the loss I sustain in his company and society, which would be most dear to both his Father and Mother, who know that they have but a short space of time left to enjoy it.

Read, my dear Madam, the inclosed Letter, which altho written

1 The Remonstrance against the war adopted by the General Court June 15, 1813. It is printed in the *Columbian Centinel*, June 23, 1813.

2 John Quincy Adams.

more than a year since, I received but yesterday, and as usual opened. I rather wonder, when it containd such [*cut*] kers, that they were good enough to forwa[rd *cut*] the account of the Characters which are [*cut*] for any political information which it contains. What favorable issue can we expect to negotiation with a ministry formed of such Characters? May not British faith bear a parallel with Galic?

I am extreemly grieved at the party violence which prevails, and which leads to such disgracefull outrages as that committed upon your Son. I hope the injury not so great as you at first feard. pray let me hear how he is. There is yet Law and I hope justice, to [punish] such offenders, and to bind them to good behaviour. the scripture calls for an eye, for an eye, yet even that will not restore lost sight.

Since I received your Letter in which you so kindly interest yourself for my Dear Daughter Smith, I have received a Letter from my Grandson John A. Smith, who writes to me, that it is his Mother's most earnest wish to be brought to Quincy, and that altho for six weeks she has not been able to get across her Room, yet he thinks she has gained some strength; and in compliance with her desire he has undertaken to journey with her by slow degrees, and if possible get her here, which will relieve my mind of that constant anxiety which I daily have to know how she is. her son gives me but a melancholy account of her health. I hope the journey and change of air, society of her family and Friends, will have a favorable effect.

"God tempers the wind to the shorn Lamb," Sterne tell us, and all our troubles in this Life are no doubt designed for salutary purposes. with them is blended goodness and mercy — and with Jobe, I would say, altho he slay me, I will trust in him. with an affectionate remembrance to all your family I subscribe yours as ever,

Abigail Adams

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

QUINCY, *Sep'br* 5th, 1813

MY DEAR MADAM, — Your kind and sympathetic Letter demands my thanks, and receives my gratitude. My own loss is not to be estimated by words, and can only be alleviated by the consoling belief that my dear Daughter is partakeing of that Life and immortality brought to light by him, who endured the cross, and is gone before to prepare a place; for those who Love him, and keep his commandments.[1]

Her patience submission, and Resignation have been a lesson to me, neither to murmur or complain, but cheerfully to resign her into the Hands of that Being, who gave her to me, and who certainly had the best right to remand her, gratefull to him, that her sufferings were so soon terminated.

She has left me a treasure, whose conduct upon this trying occasion, exemplifies her faith in the Religion of which she has been early in Life a public professor, and the precepts of which, its promisses and rewards, are the sources to which she resorts for comfort, deprived thus early in Life of a parent who was devoted to her, and to whom she was attached by the strongest ties of fillial Love duty and gratitude.

The president thanks you for your sympathy with him. the precepts of phylosophy may teach us to endure what the laws of the universe make necessary, it may infuse stubborness but Religion alone can teach submission and patience, as Johnson remarks.

My dear Caroline has exprest a wish in unison with your own, and gratefully accepts your kind invitation to visit the Ancient Friend of her Mother, and of her Grandparents, and to manifest to you the Respect and Veneration in which from her earliest years she has been instructed to hold the partial Friend of her Mother. It would give me pleasure to accompany her, but I feel more wedded to home than ever, and could not leave the Bereaved Father a prey to solitude.

I beg leave to substitute in my Room an other Granddaughter,

1 Abigail (Adams) Smith died August 15, 1813.

a good girl lively and affectionate. She is very desirious of paying her respects to, and being noticed by a Lady so highly and so justly respected as the venerated Friend of many years, the long tried and Ancient Friend of her Grandparents. She is the Eldest Daughter of my son Charles well known to you in early Life.[1]

I regret that Mrs. Adams,[2] my son Thomas's wife, cannot have the long anticipated pleasure of visiting you with them, as she was prepared to do, when yesterday she was summond to Boston to attend the funeral of her sisters child — an Infant of a year old, suddenly taken out of Life, by the disease of the season.

In that warfare there is no distinction.

I have not, dear Madam, received any late Letters from my son in Russia. when any arrive which I can communicate, it will be a double pleasure to know that my Friend will share it with me.

Col. Smith the respected partner of my late dear Daughter accompanies the Ladies, and will do himself the pleasure of waiting upon you.

be assured that I am what I ever have been, and ever shall be your affectionate Friend,

ABIGAIL ADAMS

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLYMOUTH, *September* 12, 1813

SIR, — I was much gratified by seeing your signature affixed to a Letter addressed to Mm. Warren. I am also gratified and obliged by the marks of your attention manifest in the interesting inclosures in yours under date September 1st, one of which deeply affected me as a Sister.[3] I have for many years known your

1 Charles Adams (1770–1800) married in 1795, Sarah Smith (1769–1828). Their eldest daughter Susanna B. (1796–1846) married (1) Charles Thomas Clark (1793–1818) and (2) William R. H. Treadway (1795–1836).

2 Ann (Harod) Adams.

3 A letter from Governor McKean, August 20, 1813, in which he wrote: "In the Congress of 1765 there were several conspicuous characters: Mr. James Otis appeared to me to be the boldest and best speaker. I voted for him as our President, but Brigadier Ruggles succeeded by one vote, owing to the number of the Committee from New York, as we voted individually: when the business was finished our President would not sign the petitions, and peremptorily refused to assign any reasons, until I pressed him so hard that he

respect and regard for a brother so justly esteemed by his connections, his friends and his country. No American knew him better than the author of the dialogue, nor is any one more capable of portraying his character and handing it down to posterity than yourself.

The sketch in my hand in connection with some of the greatest actors who have exhibited their parts on this narrow stage of human action, is a proof of your correct knowledge of history and your capacity for comparing the ages of Charlemagne, Frederick the Great, Rousseau and Otis, though in times so remote from each other, and drawing the results of their sentiments and transactions and the operations thereof on the moral conduct of mankind in our own age and in that of Posterity.

I have, Sir, availed myself of the liberty you gave me of extracting or copying any part of your communications. Depend upon it. I shall make no improper use thereof, though I have copied the Dialogue and taken a few sentences from Govr. McKean's letter. I should as you enjoined have returned the Packet earlier, had not my own Optics been too weak and my other eyes so occupied, especially in the last six days, while so engaged and delighted by a visit from a part of your family. Lovely Girls! sent by Providence to support the pillow of age, while nightly recollecting the tomb that encloses the most amiable of daughters. I am, respected Sir, with all due regard your friend [1]

MERCY WARREN

at last said, 'it was against his *conscience*,' on which word I rung the change so loud, that a plain challenge was given by him and accepted, in the presence of the whole corps; but he departed the next morning before day without an adieu to any of his brethren. He seemed to accord with what was done during the session so fully and heartily, that Mr. Otis told me frequently it gave him surprise, as he confessed he suspected his sincerity."

A second enclosure was a "Dialogue of the Dead," apparently written by John Adams "of a musing moment of an evening at Richmond Hill when Congress sat at New York in 1789, immediately after the arrival of the news of Dr. Franklin's death." As Franklin died April 17, 1790, the year given by Mr. Adams was in error, but no copy of the Dialogue has been found.

1 The body of the letter is by a son and only the signature, very infirm, is by Mrs. Warren.

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN ADAMS MSS.

QUINCY, *November* 24, 1813

. . . . . .

Governor McKean's notice of your brother I thought worth preserving in your family. The oddity of the Dialogue [1] and the particular moment of its composition, were the circumstances that made it rather an object of curiosity than use. I think, however, the Traits of Character are correct.

I know not, Madam, what your Father, your Husband, or your Brother, would think of these times. A mighty effort of nature is in operation that no understanding below that Providence which superintends and directs it can comprehend. An entire separation, in government at least, between America and Europe seems to be commencing, but what will be its course, when and how it will terminate, and what influence it will have upon Asia and Africa, no living man, I believe, will pretend to foresee. We have acted our parts. The curtain will soon be drawn upon us. We must leave the future to that Providence which has protected the Past. This sentiment of duty and interest, I doubt not, Madam, will be approved by you, as I hope it is realised with gratitude and entire confidence and submission by your old friend and respectful humble Servant,

JOHN ADAMS

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLYMOUTH, *December* 22d, 1813

SIR, — Your Letter of the 24th ult. ought to be early acknowledged by one who, through a long life, has not been insensible of the worth of friendship, or negligent whenever in her power to cherish the invaluable treasure. I am, therefore, delighted to see our young people strengthening each other in that disposition which may be a source of happiness to them as they tread over the stage of life so replete with trial and change.

1 See page 387, *supra*. This letter is also printed in 5 *Collections*, IV. 504.

The pleasure I received from Mrs. Adams' visit with her excellent daughter is delightful on reflection. Since which have been much gratified by a visit from the surviving partner of my dear Mrs. Smith and his daughter. You inform me your family were pleased with their visit, which leads me to anticipate another in some future day.

I thank you for your candor and the interest you profess for each member of my family, and particularly for your expressions of approbation and esteem of my Mercy Otis Warren.

It is impossible, Sir, for you and myself to correspond without recollecting past time, when my father, my husband, my brother and yourself were united in effort to emancipate their country from the yoke of foreign domination. I can easily conceive, had you not mentioned them, how pleasant it would be to you to converse with those departed worthies in this day of present difficulty and distress which seems to have pervaded the whole habitable globe. But all the wisdom and virtues of your former associates in the great struggle which we have witnessed might not be able to extricate from present evils, though with unparalleled wisdom and success, the patriots of the Revolution finished it with dignity to themselves and with the hope of universal benefit to mankind.

May I ask what is the present prospect and what may be the termination and final result of existing commotions, as they relate both to Europe and America? You have wisely and seriously observed in your last that "*no understanding below that Providence which superintends and directs it, can comprehend the mighty efforts of nature which are in operation.*" Yet it may not be improper or impious for us to converse on the adorable goodness that has protected in one age, and the immense power and wisdom that permits in another miseries of every kind to overspread the ungrateful nations which have not duly regarded the hand of the supreme Governor of the Universe in all his dispensations.

I am pleased with the dialogue sent me. It evinces at once your veneration for the memory of your former friend and is a just tribute to the memory of a man who suffered so much as did Mr. Otis in the service of his country. The great characters which

your imagination has grouped together in the regions of the dead are, I think, correctly portrayed. They, as you observe, with regard to ourselves, have acted their parts: when *the curtain is drawn* may we all find favor before the Judge of all the Earth, who will do right.

As a ship from Gottenberg arrived in the harbor of Plymouth yesterday, my son, the Postmaster, had the pleasure this day to forward to your hand a Letter which we presume was from your absent Son. Your correspondence with him is among the rich treasures you enjoy in the downhill of life. I subscribe, respected Sir, your aged Friend and Humble Servant [1]

MERCY WARREN

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLYMOUTH, *March* 31, 1814

I doubt not, Sir, you will be pleased when I tell you that the Evening of my Life is smoothed by the intercourse with a number of sensible, pious, elegant correspondents. Younger than myself, indeed they are; but there are yet a few left who stand near the grade of old age as well as myself, though not so far advanced. It is truly a satisfaction to me to receive letters from a Gentleman with whom I have corresponded for near half a century, and to find therein the same flow of esteem, friendship and confidence, which used to drop profusely from his pen. That confidence is strongly exhibited in the inclosure of yours of the 24th Inst. It is, indeed, a very important Letter. The communication, however, is safe in the bosom of my family.

While I congratulate my Country that she has such an Envoy at this important crisis at the Court of Petersburgh, I must again give you joy that you have a Son so capable of transacting the great affairs of Nations and of the World. He developes the intrigues of European Courts with ease, and traces their Machiavelian Politicians with accuracy. He writes like a Patriot, a Politi-

1 Not even the signature is hers. Letters of John Adams to Mrs. Warren, February 2, and March 24, 1814, is in 5 *Collections*, IV. 505, 508.

cian, and a Christian; but it is not possible for the wisest of them all to calculate on the mighty Revolutions and astonishing changes that our Children may see. While we are rapidly passing beyond the vale, what a consolation is it to reflect that infinite goodness, as well as wisdom and power sits at the helm of Creation, where this world would appear as a pebble to them, had mankind the intellect and the permission to take a view of it from the third heaven.

The balm of sympathy tendered in your last letter was gratefully received by both myself and my children. They offer, tho' with a tearful eye, their high consideration of respect and regard to yourself and Mrs. Adams, who have felt that the stricken deer must have time to weep. You have learnt by lessons of severity as well as mercy the wisdom and peace of a resigned frame of spirit. They also adore the hand that smites them, and I trust will meet with becoming resignation the resumption of the choicest comforts that have been loaned them for a time, by the beneficent being who gives all things in just measure.

An admonitory sentence from one who has parted with the most amiable of Children, and has seen other comforts withering around him, will even be advantageous to those who are seeking after improvement in that wisdom which is from above.

I anticipate the pleasure of Mrs. Adam's letter, not only on account of the promise you made relative to her anecdotes of Madam de Staël, but for the many pleasant things I always find in her letters, which are always fraught with hints for moral and religious improvement, that the feeble mind of mortals stands in need of. The polite compliment from the Baron in the French stile was perhaps no more than was due to your Lady, but the bloom of an Angel when applied to your daughter would have diminished in his eye, had he been acquainted with the intellectual charms of my lovely friend.

A Gentleman may be indulged in a little vanity as well as gaiety, when contemplating the blessings of his own house, more especially when writing to one truly attached to each member thereof.

I return your son's letter with the spirit of those who still cry

more, more, however much good they receive. To the sweet Girls of your family name affectionately your Friend [1]

MERCY WARREN

ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN

QUINCY, *May* the 5th, 1814

DEAR MADAM, — I most sincerely sympathize with you and the Bereved distrest Family at Washington, in the dispensation of heaven which has broken assunder the last paternal ligament; and left you the only surviving pillar, of the once numerous edifice.[2]

To us, who in the course of nature expect, and hope to join the spirits of the just; are consolations, which to the bereved Widow; and Children, are more distant and remote; for they may survive, to feel all the anguish, of a long seperation; and to lament the loss, of a tender, affectionate, attentive, Husband, and doating Father.

He died at his post, probably a sacrifice to over exertion, and too great a weight, and press of Business; for his years. he died, with the Love, respect, and esteem of his Country, having for twenty-five years, exhibited, a strikeing example of attention and punctuality worthy imitation. If we live to old Age, "string after string is severed from the heart" untill, as one expresses it, we have scarcly anything left to resign, but Breath.

To a mind elevated and endowed like your own, full of confidence and hope, you can look through nature to Natures God and trust the Ruler of the skies, sure that all events are permitted and contrould, by infinite wisdom, justice, and Benevolence.

The circumstance of loosing a Friend distant from home, must add to the pain of my dear Relative, and her return to her own habitation, be solitary indeed. Mr. Otis was a most pleasant companion, both at home, and abroad.

when at Philadelphia, I lived in constant habits of intimacy, and Friendly intercourse with the Family, and was witness to the cheerfulness and urbanity of his manners, which in public Life

1 Only the signature is hers.

2 Samuel Alleyne Otis, died April 22, 1814.

secured him against the shafts of malice. he was always moderate, and never imposed his own opinions upon those who dissented from him upon political Questions. he was firm in his own, and decided, but left others the same Liberty. accordingly for twenty-five years that he acted as Secretary to the Senate of the United States, amidst all the conflicts of party, he retaind, the Love and Esteem of that Body.

I need not say to you, who so well know his Character, that he adorned the Doctrine which he professed, as a christian Liberal, candid, and Charitable.

His uniform habits of temperance and sobriety and uninterrupted Health, gave him a vigor, which promised a much longer duration, and made him dear to his Family and Friends, few of the infirmities of Age were discoverable in him. his loss will be most heavily felt, by his partner and his dear daughters.

I know, my dear Madam, you will offer to them, all the sympathy, and consolation which your own experience can suggest, and which supported you through a similar trying scene.

That you may still enjoy the consolations and support of the most High, and finally be received to the Mansions of the blest, is ardently hoped for By your affectionate Friend,

Abigail Adams

John Adams to Elbridge Gerry

Quincy, *July* 4, 1814

My dear Friend, — I have received your kind letter of the 30th of June with emotions, which it would be in vain for me to attempt to describe. My Attendance at Lexington is out of all question: the State of my health renders it both morally and physically impossible.

I dare not express even to you, in a confidential private Letter, my recollections, my reflections, my feelings or Opinions, on this day and these times.

Five and forty years ago, when any terrible News arrived from England of their hostile designs against our Liberties, when the

people gaping and stareing, pale and trembling asked me, "What I thought of the News," my invariable Answer was, "The worse, the better."

Nothing ever did arrouse this People, but the last and extreamest expression and Exertion of the Contempt, the Malice and Vengeance of Great Britain, and this, in my Opinion We shall soon see and feel.

My Son, just beginning to be convalescent from a very severe and dangerous Sickness which has reduced him very low, has gone to Rhode Island for his health. your invariable Friend

JOHN ADAMS

MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS ADAMS MSS.

PLYMOUTH, *July* 10, 1814

It is very many days since I addressed a line to any of my Quincy friends, and as I think I have been sometime in arrears for a very agreeable Letter from the late President, my first attention is due to him. I am quickened to discharge this obligation from having recently heard by my sister Otis that your health is declining. The years you have counted up admonish that the harbingers of dissolution are drawing near after three score and ten. Yet I most sincerely hope that the life of a Gentleman who acted so great a part in a revolution that astonished the world and lived to set his seal to an honorable peace after a desolating war, may be spared to see peace again restored to the United States, notwithstanding the severe threats of our old inveterate enemy.

I should like very much to hear your observations on the gloomy aspect of the times. I am disposed to ask you very many questions which a Letter cannot contain. I sit in my elbow chair in the old corner and were you and Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Warren again to meet there before we meet in the eternal world, I think the conversation of this *trio* would be neither unpleasing nor unprofitable. What think you, Sir, of a little jaunt to Plymouth in company with Mrs. Adams and my sweet Caroline? The ride might

contribute to your health and to that of my long tried friend, your excellent partner. I am told that my amiable young friend just mentioned contemplates a distant residence from that of her Grand-Parents. I expect to see her before she spreads her wings for the Southward. I cannot close this without inquiring when and what you hear from the Ambassador at the Court of Petersburg?

My next question, Sir, you may deem impertinent. Do you remember who was the author of a little pamphlet entitled the *Group?* To your hand it was committed by the writer. You brought it forward to the public eye. I will therefore give you my reason for naming it now. A friend of mine who lately visited the Athenæum saw it among a bundle of pamphlets with a high encomium on the Author who, he asserted, was Mr. Samuel Barrett. You can, if you please, give a written testimony contradictory of this false assertion.

You and Mr. Gerry are the only surviving Gentlemen that I recollect, who know anything of the character, the manners, the movements, and a thousand circumstances that took place and occupied the attention of the Patriots who struggled and suffered in the cause of their Country from 1765 to 1783, when the instrument of Independence signed by yourself and others was acknowledged by foreign nations.

Am I mistaken when I observe that the generations of men which have since arisen have been too notoriously negligent in their enquiries relative to the principles and the foundation of the rights and liberties acquired by the labours and blood of their Ancestors, that with few exceptions they appear a very ignorant and narrow minded people. I forbear to say more on this or any other subject, lest I should trespass on your patience. With the most cordial wishes for the restoration of your health and my affectionate regards to Mrs. Adams, to Susan, Caroline and others of your family, subscribes respectfully your Friend and Humble Servant [1]

Mercy Warren

1 The entire letter is in the writing of her son. On July 15 John Adams replied and the letter is in *Writings of John Adams*, x. 98. A second letter from Mrs. Warren, August 4, 1814, is in 5 *Collections*, iv. 509, and was the last letter she wrote to Mr. Adams. She died October 19, 1814.

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN ADAMS MSS.

QUINCY, *August* 17, 1814

DEAR MADAM,—I have certified in the book in the Athenæum that to my certain knowledge, The Group was written by Mrs. Warren.

Your polite invitation to Plymouth is esteemed as an effusion of friendship, ancient and modern: but three score and nineteen years have reduced me to the situation, the temper and humor of Mr. Selden, who Clarendon says, would not have slept out of his own bed for any office the King could have given him.

The difference of Character and Conduct in New England for the last fifty years is not so great in reality as in appearance.

The Tories had the ascendancy from 1761 to 1775 and then 1775 and 1776 scarcely turned the majority. Through the whole Revolution the Tories sat on our skirts and were a dead weight, obstructing and embarrassing all our Efforts. They have now the entire dominion of the five states of New England. Stonington, however, appears to have shaken off their yoke, and New York is setting a good Example.

Could you have believed forty years ago that in so short a time Plymouth, Duxbury and Boston, would have been rivalled and exceeded by New York in Patriotism, Fortitude and Courage?

I do not consider the peace in Europe as yet concluded. The great questions of the Liberty of the Scheldt, of Ostend, Nieuport, Bruges, etc., are still to be discussed in a Congress of Ambassadors at Vienna, and other questions too numerous to be mentioned.

The War between Protestantism and Catholicism lasted thirty years, i. e., from 1618 to 1648. The War between Republicanism and Despotism has already reached thirty-nine years. The religious war is not yet ended. When the political war will terminate must be left to him who rules the armies of Heaven.

In one thing I am clear. If the war continues between Great Britain and the United States, as I believe it will, it will soon rekindle the flames in Europe. . . .

The alarm in Plymouth had no share in their [the children's] early return to the mansion of your old Friend

JOHN ADAMS

Appendix

Appendix

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Plymo. *Novr.* the 8th, 1772

Dear Sir, — I Received yours of the 4th Instant [2] with the more pleasure as the Contents Exhibit Instances of that Spirit in your Town still remaining and reviving I hoped to the Salvation of this poor Country, after a Languor and feebleness which has discouraged almost every good man in it. May it Increase, flourish and be diffused in every Breast till Tyranny shall Tremble at the Foundation and Tyrants call on the Rocks and Mountains to Cover them. After I left Boston for so long a time and heard of no steps taken as proposed when I was there, I must own my sanguine Hopes were succeeded by a despondency Bordering on despair, and when I heard of a meeting of your Town, tho' my Expectations were raised, yet I could not easily conceive what measures you would fall upon. Embarrassd as you are by the Timidity of Friends, and the Intrigues and power of professd Enemies, Internal and External, I hoped however much from your firm and unshaken Constancy and ardour which to your Honour I never yet saw damp'd. The Leading Steps you took are I think very well, as they serve the purposes both of Strengthing your Interest and holding him [Hutchinson] up in his proper colours. his Answer to your first Message is thought Insolent, that to your last Stupid. the General plan you have finally adopted, if it takes in the other Towns in general and is supported with Spirit, I think will produce great Consequences and I don't know but Considering all Circumstances is the least the Times will Admit of. it may answer the same purposes to the Body Politick as removing Obstructions and promoting a free Circulation does to the Body Natural — Eradicate the seeds of the distemper and restore Health. I am now to acquaint you that I have talkd with many of my Townsmen since I received your Letter and have the pleasure to find their Pulse beating high and their Resentment equal to any I can suppose you have found in other Towns. I believe I shall have no difficulty in geting at meeting here and carrying the point to second you as proposed. One thing you may be assured of, no Assiduity in me shall be wanting. I am Ballanceing in my mind whether to Attempt it before we receive your

[1] From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
[2] Vol. I. 11, *supra.*

Letter and report, or wait till then. Some reasons determine me to the last. however, shall consult my Friends here, and should be glad to hear from you on the subject again. I cant but wonder that none of your Neighbouring Towns have Catched the glow. perhaps it is designed they should have before them a full view of the Transactions of the Metropolis. You will please to Excuse the Inaccuracies of this which is wrote in a Hurry to a Friend whose Candour is always ready to overlook faults that dont proceed from a wicked Heart. I am with great Sincerity Your Friend and Humbl. Servt.

JAS: WARREN

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS[1]

PLYMO. *Novr.* 17th, 1772

DEAR SIR, — I have the pleasure of Incloseing a Copy of a Petition, handed to me yesterday as one of the Selectmen of this Town. the Petition was signed by Capt. Thos. Jackson and a hundred other reputable Inhabitants, and at the same time Inform you that the selectmen have in Consequence of it Issued their Warrants for a Meeting of the Town on this day week. which, so far as we have gone, I hope will fully answer your Expectations from your Mother Plymouth and Justify my Engagements of Assiduity, etc. I can only add at present that the sentiments of the people here are very different from the Tory Representations you mention. they feel and Resent both the Indignities and Injuries repeatedly offerd them, and see the fatal Consequences of this last Ministerial Maneovre. I should be glad to hear again from you soon, and that you would furnish me with any materials for Conducting this matter so as best to serve a good Cause. it is the desire of the Petitioners that their Petition may be Inserted in the Papers, which I dare say you will have no Objection to, even if it gives you the trouble of seeing it done.[2] I am in great Haste your assured Friend and Humbl. Servt.

JAS: WARREN

I desire you would send home my Collegue to do his duty on this and other Occasions.[3]

[1] From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
[2] Vol. I. 12*n*, *supra*.
[3] Isaac Lothrop.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS[1]

PLYMO., *Decr.* the 8th, 1772

DEAR SIR, — Since my last disturbance I have the pleasure of receiveing two Letters from your Town to the Selectmen of the several Towns in this County, which I have distributed to them with a degree of pleasure that might be sufficient to render an Apology for giveing me any Trouble unnecessary. what Consequences they may produce I cant yet determine. I shant fail to Exert myself to have as many Towns as possible meet, but fear the Bigger part of them will not. they are Dead and the Dead cant be raised without a Miracle. I am sensible that the Tories spare no pains (as you say) to disparage the measures which with their other Conduct shews their Apprehensions. They are Nettled much. the Great Sachem of Chessemuttuck wrote to one of his Tools here to observe and give him a perticular Account of all our proceedings and especially for a Copy of the warrant for the meeting. The Enjoying £400 per annum Undisturbed by the Clamour of the Rabble, tho it be the wages of Unrighteousness is an Object of no small Consequence to a Poor Sachem who had spent all his Wampum and must appear in state equal to the Noble Blood runing in his Veins. the Letter of our Committee of Communication to yours gives you the proceedings of our Town so far as they have yet gone. you may depend upon it the whole will be of a piece with this. the Hingham Letter, whether the produce of a Hingham Genius or fabricated in the Cabal, is a low dirty Business founded upon the Pillars and chief Corner Stones of the Tory Cause. Misrepresentation, or rather Lies and Scandal and defamation. however, a young Fellow here of a riseing and promiseing Genius, I thought, might begin his Operations upon this Occasion and has taken him in hand, and done pretty well for the first. I am glad to see in the last *Spy* the Motions in Marblehead. I wish the measure would take a general run. why does it Labour so in Roxbury. that damps the Spirit in some other Towns. I hope, however, it will terminate well there. do give me (in your next) what well Grounded hopes you have of success, and let me know if there has been any dissentions among the friends to the good Cause and perticularly between you and Otis. I have Occasion for frequent and perticular Intelligence to discountenance the Tory lies of the day. It is Court Week. I am obliged to write in a great Hurry and must now Conclude.[2] Your Sincere Freind and Humbl. Servt.

JAS: WARREN

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 See Vol. I. 14, *supra*.

To Mr. Adams — Adams mss.

[By Mercy Warren]

Though short! Far short my pen of the sublime
That urges on and bids me write in Rhyme.
And hope my Friend the Effort will Excuse
Nor Blame the Heart: but check the Niggard Muse.
Is it a Wild Enthupostick[1] Flame,
That swells the Bosom panting after Fame,
Dilates the Mind: with every sails unfurl'd,
To catch the plaudit of a Gazing World.
Is there no permanent, no steady pole,
To point us on, and Guide the Wandring soul.
Does prejudice and passion Rule Mankind.
Are there no springs that actuate the Mind
Whose deep Meanders have some Nobler source
Than Vain self Love, to Guide their Winding Course.
That Gen'rous Ardor stiled Benevolence,
Is it an Art to Gratify the sense
Or Give imagination further scope,
That aeiry queen, who Guides the Helm of hope
Holds A False Mirrour to the Dazzel'd sight,
A Dim perspective, A Delusive Light,
That swells the Bubbles of Life's shortned span,
While Wisdom smiles at the Deluded Man.
Wrap'd in Extaticks, by imagin'd Fame,
When the next Moment Will Blot out his Name.

Can't the Wise precepts of A platos school
(or shall I Name a still more perfect Rule)
Rouze up the soul, to that Exalted Height,
To Walk by Reason, And Reject the Cheat:
Or are the Fetters that Enslave the Mind
Of that Firm Base, that Adamantine kind,
So Firmly Lock'd, and so securely Reve'd,
The more we search, the More are we Deceived.
Are Truth, and Friendship, no where to be Found,
And patriot Virtue Nothing but a Sound
Then May A Cesar Equal Honour Claim
With Noble Brutus, celebrated Name,

1 Thus in the text but an unknown word. *Cf.* entheus, imagination.

For the poor tribute of a short applause.
One stabs A tyrant trampling on the Laws,
While the proud Despot Marks his Baneful Way
With Virtue's tears, and triumphs or'e his prey.
Self the sole point in which they'r both agreed.
By this Rome's shackled, or by this she's Freed.
Self Love, that stimulus to Noblest Aims,
Bids Nero Light the Capitol in Flames,
Or Bids H—— [1] sell his Native Land
And his Vile Brother lend his perjur'd Hand.
While Fredom weeps and Heav'n delays to shed
Its awful Vengeance on the Guilty Head.

If such is Life, And Fancy throw the Bowl,
If appetite and caprice Rule the Whole,
If Virtuous Friendship has no solid Base,
But False Deception holds the sacred place,
Then from thy Mem'ry Race out every Line
Nor Recolect one sentiment of mine
But Dark Oblivion, sable Veil Draw ore,
And I'll Forbear to interupt the more.
For if Vice Boasts her origin the same,
With social joy and patriotic Flame,
Then I must Wish to bid the World Farewell,
Turn Anchorit and choose some Lonely Cell
Beneath some peaceful Hermitage Reclin'd
To Weep the Misery of all Mankind,
till Days and Years, till time shall cease to roll
And truth *Eternal* strike the Wond'ring soul.

Plimouth, *October* 11, 1773.

John Adams to James Warren

Boston *Dec'r.* 17, 1773

Dear Sir, — The Dye is cast: The People have passed the River and cutt away the Bridge: last Night Three Cargoes of Tea, were emptied into the Harbour. This is the grandest Event, which has ever yet happened since the Controversy, with Britain, opened!

The Subimity of it, charms me!

For my own Part, I cannot express my own Sentiments of it, better

1 The capital H is nearly erased. It refers to Hutchinson.

than in the Words of Coll. Doane [1] to me, last Evening — Balch [2] should repeat them. The worst that can happen, I think, says he in Consequence of it, will be that the Province must pay for it. Now, I think the Province may pay for it, if it is burn'd as easily as it is drank — and I think it is a matter of indifference whether it is drank or drowned. The Province must pay for it, in either Case. But there is this Difference. I believe it will take them 10 Years to get the Province to pay for it — if so, we shall Save 10 Years Interest of the Money. Whereas if it is drank it must be paid for immediately. thus He. However, He agreed with me that the Province would never pay for it, and also in this, that the final Ruin of our Constitution of Government, and of all American Liberties, would be the certain Consequence of Suffering it to be landed.

Governor Hutchinson and his Family and Friends will never have done with their good services to Great Britain and the Colonies! But for him, this Tea might have been Saved to the East India Company. Whereas this Loss if the rest of the Colonies should follow our Example, will in the opinion of many Persons bankrupt the Company. However, I dare say, that the Governors, and Consignees, and Custom House Officers, in the other Colonies will have more Wisdom than ours have had, and take effectual Care that their Tea shall be sent back to England untouched. if not it will as surely be destroyed there as it has been here. .

Threats, Phantoms, Bugbears, by the million, will be invented and propagated among the People upon this Occasion. Individuals will be threatned with Suits and Prosecutions. Armies and Navies will be talked of and military Execution. Charters annull'd, Treason, Tryals in England and all that. But — these Terms are all but Imaginations. Yet if they should become Realities they had better be Suffered, than the great Principle of Parliamentary Taxation given up.

The Town of Boston was never more Still and calm of a Saturday night than it was last Night. All Things were conducted with great order, Decency and *perfect Submission to Government.* No Doubt, we all thought the Administration in better Hands, than it had been.

Please to make Mrs. Adams's most respectfull Compliments to Mrs. Warren and mine. I am your Friend,

JOHN ADAMS

1 Elisha Doane (1732). 2 Nathaniel Balch.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

PLYMO., *July* 1, 1774

MY DEAR SIR, — Beware of the Ides of March was a Caution given to Cesar and his Neglect of it afterwards regretted by his Friends. let me Intreat you not to Neglect the Cautions given by your Friends. his rid the world of a Tyrant and yours may deprive your Country of the Wisdom and vertue of a distinguished Patriot. I feel the Emotions of a Friend when I Consider the hazard you and some others may be Exposed to. we have Just received the *Spy* of yesterday with the Extraordinary Proclamation,[2] which will save me some trouble in one way if it Occasion some in Another. We have been Embarrassed with a division about the Covenant, but I think this will remove the Difficulties and believe we shall get it signed by Tomorrow. Mr. Thomas [3] waits and can add no more, but desire you to be referred to him for further perticulars. You will find him a young Gentleman after your own Heart, which from me is a warm recommendation. I am with great sincerity your Friend, etc.

JAS: WARREN

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [4]

PLYMO., *July* the 10th, 1774

MY DEAR SIR, — The day after I wrote to you by Mr. Thomas we had a very full meeting of the Inhabitants and after a debate voted (by a large Majority) to adopt the Covenant as it came to us, with only a very small Alteration, when about seventy signed it. since which by the Intrigues of our Friend Spooner chiefly it has been at a stand, and difficulties have multiplied upon us. it is now takeing a start and the Number of signers has Increased to about a hundred. I hope finally we shall retrieve our Credit and I shall be able to give a good Account of my Town. Experience has often taught you the difficulty of reasoning People into measures for their own Happiness, and the Ease with which they may be Intimidated and drove from them. Little Ned Winslow (one of my Cousins) with a few other Insignificant Tories appeared at the meeting and played their Game by holding up the Terrors of the Governor's Proclamation which rather served us than themselves. from these Gentry in this Town we have little to fear. it is the Wolves in Sheeps Cloath-

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

2 Gage's Proclamation for discouraging certain illegal combinations, issued at Salem, June 29, 1774.

3 Perhaps Isaiah Thomas publisher of the *Massachusetts Spy*.

4 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

ing who do the mischief, principally by persuadeing people that great difficulties will Ensue by breaking up of Intercourse with non-Signers; but as I consider the Articles as material shall Endeavour to preserve it. great Enquiries are made what is done at Marblehead, Salem, Newberry Port, etc. shall be glad if you would Enable me to answer the queries, which I cant do at present for want of Intelligence. and when your hand is in you may mention Boston and tell me what you do with the Covenant there. I congratulate you on the Compleat Victory obtained at your last Meeting.[1] Custom House Officers and the Tories here were greatly Elated with the sure and certain Expectation of your defeat which they seemed to Entertain no doubt of and were of course greatly disconcerted. last Week our Court of Sessions sett here, Voted and made Addresses to the present Governor and his predecessor. I cant give you a perticular Account, not haveing been able to see or hear either of them, as the whole matter Except the motion and the Choice of the Committee was conducted in private. however by what I can learn the first is a humble Imitation of Worcester, and the other of your Boston Addressers, and each of them aiming to Excel in Adulation and Servility the Copy. A proper Committee for the purpose of Copying and fawning was appointed. Coll. Edson and my two Cousins, Pelham and Ned Winslow, Junr., tho' the last had never qualified himself as a Justice and therefore not properly of their Body. but his Impudent and as they think shineing Talents were thought necessary to supply what their modesty seemd to suppose their own Stupidity could not perform. Mr. Sever would not unite with them in the motion for the first Address which was made by Foster, was not present when the second was moved by Mr. Winslow, Introduced with most Extravagant Encomiums on Hutchinsons Vertues and Administration; but took Care to be present at the report and made with Mr. Cotton and Mayhew a resolute, firm and well supported Opposition. but nine poor Tools Carried it against them. A Number of others were against the motion when first made, but as the report was delayed to the last of the Court they were gone, and there is reason to suppose (servile as a Court of Sessions are) they would hardly have Obtained a vote if it had been made before a large Number were gone. so much for Plymouth Intelligence. I add no more but that I wish to hear from you and agreable to your promise to see you here before you go on your Tour. I am with Compliments to your good Lady Your Friend and Countryman,

JAS: WARREN

1 Probably the Town Meeting of June 28, in which, by a vast majority, the Committee of Correspondence was upheld. *Boston Rec. Com.* XVIII. 178.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS[1]

PLYMO., *Jan.* the 1, 1775

DEAR SIR, — This is designed principally to Inform you that the last Storm cast away about nine or ten miles from hence a Sloop from Virginia, haveing on Board among other things a considerable donation for your suffering Town. as soon as that Circumstance was known here, a number of the Inhabitants of this Town, about twenty, took a Sloop and went down with a determination to assist the Master, and more especially to secure and bring up as much of the donation as could be saved, but returned as they went, without Effecting anything, the Master absolutely refuseing to let them take any Articles, telling them it was his design to have the whole Cargo sold on the Beach. his Conduct is very strange, but as we dont know the Man, we are unable to Conjecture whether it proceeds from Weakness or Wickedness, or from Evil Concellors. it is said he has put himself under the direction of one or two Marshfield Tories. the donation Consists (as I hear) of Corn, flour, wheat Bread, pork, and some Butter.[2]

I hear nothing from you of late more than I should if you was Apprehended, Transported, Tryed, and Executed on the Statutes of Harry the 8th or George the Third. I sincerely wish this may prove a happy year to you, tho' I am Inclined to think it will be a Troublesome one to both of us. I should be glad of a [*illegible*] of your Conjectures on that subject. Your Company will be much desired on our Anniversary and not a little Expected. I am much engaged in military matters to prepare for the opening of the Campaign in the Spring. The Tories that return from Boston report that foreign Troops are to be sent over, that our new Treasurer [3] refuses to receive any money, etc., etc., and of late seem to prick up their Ears. Ruggles' Impudence is an Example for them and the publication of Massachusettensis are read with more devotion and Esteem than Holy writt. we have no News. have Established a Post that leaves Boston on Thursday Noon. desire a Line from you. I am, with Compliments to your good Lady, your sincere Friend and Humble Servt.

JAS. WARREN

Brackets or Mortons I know not which the Post may be seen at. I think the late Movements of the Troops in their Excursions into the Country a piece of Generalship. this practised without Exciting the Apprehensions of the People will enable him to surprise them one day with

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 See 4 *Collections*, IV. 161. 3 Henry Gardner.

an Important Blow, struck when they had no Expectation. when I was at Cambridge I should have tho't such a movement would have made more noise.

James Warren to Harrison Gray[1]

Plymo., *Jany.* 20th, 1775

Sir,— I Received yours of the 27th of December and have observed the Contents with that Care and Attention which their Extraordinary Nature seems to demand. I do not use myself to analyse with a Critical Exactness Letters I Receive, unless necessary to discover the Temper and disposition of Mind, The Governing Principles, or the Ends proposed by the Writer. Whether Resentment, Disappointment in the part you have Unhappily taken in Government, or the feeble Policy of the Party, mark most strongly your Letter, I shall not undertake to determine, but I have no difficulty in assuring you that if you expect by any or all of these to Intimidate or drive me from the Paths I have walked in to those devious Tracks which neither Honour or Conscience lead to or Countenance, you have mistaken your Man. I have long since fortified myself against either Allurements, or Threats. I am now perfectly satisfyed with the part I have taken in Government both from its rectitude and the prospect of Success attending it. Whether you are so or not with that you have taken, or what kind of Ideas you have formed of Treason, is not my Business at present to Enquire. But if I may presume to advise on this Occasion it should be, that Policy might so far prevail over resentment as to make you very spareing of your Charges of Treason, or even Ingratitude, against any man, and much more so against Bodies of Men, respectable for their Numbers, Fortunes, Abilities and publick Virtues. The production or winding up of a piece of small Witt, however satisfied you might be with the little Fondling, can by no means Ballance the Hazard of a Recrimination. The Connection in our Family [2] makes it very painful to me to Address you in this manner. had you Confined yourself to the proper subject of your Letter, without Unnecessarily and even wantonly Insulting both me and my Friends, I should have Addressed you in a very different Stile. I am very sensible that I owe you money, and that every Man has a right to Call for his Debts; but then I think every man should give a little warning, and not (by a sudden Transition from a full satisfaction of the security already had and without any

1 From the New York Public Library.

2 Mrs. Warren's brother, Samuel Allyne Otis, married for his first wife Elizabeth, only daughter of Harrison Gray.

reason to doubt the Goodness of it more now than at any former time) make (as you say) an unexpected demand either of the money Immediately, or a Mortgage. Security of any kind I never was asked for before. My Credit has always been good. My Circumstances are at least as good now as ever. had you suggested to me last Summer any uneasiness, I would have found a way before this to have discharged the Debt. I will Endeavour to do it when my Vessels return in the Spring. I cannot pay this Sum of Money at present. I am not willing to give a Mortgage, nor will I ever Injure you or your Children. What you mean by your Insinuation of my Conduct being such as Exposes me to ruin I know not. Surely you can charge me neither with Drunkeness, Idleness, or Extravagance, the Common Sources of ruin. if you have in Contemplation the Idea of Gibbets and Confiscations, let me tell you it is the most Utopian and Contemptible one that ever Entered the Head of a Man. Few Hearts have been wicked enough to wish for them and much fewer Heads weak enough to Expect them. I will not at present suppose yours among them. I will therefore presume that I have traced this Conduct of yours to its true Sources. I am, Sir, Your Obedt. Humble Servt.

JAS: WARREN

HANNAH WINTHROP TO MERCY WARREN

[ANDOVER, *April* or *May*, 1775]

Can the Friend of my heart, who is engraven there as with the point of a diamond, question whether it is in the power of the greatest Commotion, danger or Abscense, to erase the tender Idea, or in the least impair the sincerest friendship? No, you have been the object of my waking thoughts and my nightly dreams; but since we were dispossest of our earthly enjoyments all nature has seemed reversed, and with it the weakened mind of your friend, rendered incapable of attending to those pleasures which made life agreeable. Nor can she yet forget, nor will old Time ever cease the horrors of that midnight cry, preceeding the Bloody Massacre at Lexington, when we were rousd from the benign Slumbers of the Season, by beat of drum and ringing of Bell, with the fire alarm, That a thousand of the Troops of George the third were gone forth to murder the peacefull inhabitants of the surrounding Villages. A few hours with the dawning day convinced us the Bloody purpose was executing. The platoon firing assuring us the rising Sun must witness the Bloody Carnage. Not knowing what the Event would be at Cambridge at the return of these Bloody ruffians, and seeing another Brigade dispatched to the Assistance of the former, Looking with the ferocity of Barbarians,

it seemed necessary to retire to some place of Safety till the Calamity was passed. My partner had been a fortnight confind by illness. After dinner we set out not knowing whither we went. we were directed to a place called fresh pond about a mile from this town,[1] but what a distressd house did we find there filld with women whose husbands were gone forth to meet the Assailiants, 70 or 80 of these with numbers of Infant Children, crying and agonizing for the Fate of their husbands. In addition to this scene of distress we were for some time in sight of the Battle, the glistening instruments of death proclaiming by an incessant fire that much blood must be shed, that many widowd and orphand ones be left as monuments of that persecuting Barbarity of British Tyranny. Another uncomfortable night we passd, some nodding in their Chairs, others resting their weary limbs on the floor. The welcome harbingers of day give notice of its dawning light, but brings us news it is unsafe to return to Cambridge as the enemy were advancing up the river and firing on the town. to stay in this place was impracticable. methinks in that hour I felt the force of my Mother Eve's Soliloquy on being driven out of Paradise, comparing small things with great

> O unexpected stroke, worse than of death!
> Must I thus leave thee, Paradise? thus leave
> Thee, native soil! these happy walks, and shades,
> fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to spend
> quiet, tho sad, the respite of that day
> that must be mortal to us both?. . .
> how shall I part, and whither wander down
> into a lower world; to this obscure
> and wild? how shall we breath in other air
> Less pure, accustomed to immortal fruits?

and could only be consold by the mild reply of Michael her Guardian Angel.

> Lament not Eve, but patiently resign
> What justly thou has lost: nor set thy heart
> thus over fond, on that which is not thine.
> thy going is not Lonely; with thee goes
> thy husband, him to follow thou art bound,
> where he abides, think there thy native soil.[2]

His benign words to Adam must also afford Consolation to the lonely Soul.

> His omnipresence fills Land, sea and air,. . .
> surmise not then
> His presence to these narrow bounds confind.[3]

1 Cambridge. 2 *Paradise Lost*, XI. 268 ff. 3 *Ib.*, 336 ff.

Thus with precipitancy were we driven to the town of Andover, following some of our Acquaintance, five of us to be conveyd with one poor tired horse and chaise. Thus we began our pilgrimage alternately walking and riding, the roads filld with frighted women and children, some in carts with their tattered furniture, others on foot fleeing into the woods. But what added greatly to the horror of the scene was our passing thro the Bloody field at Menotomy which was strewd with the mangled Bodies, we met one affectionate Father with a cart looking for his murderd son and picking up his Neighbours who had fallen in Battle, in order for their Burial.

I should not have chose this town for an Asylum, being but twenty miles from seaports where men of war and their Pirates are stationed, but in being fixd here I see it is not in man to direct his steps, As you kindly enquire after our Situation, I must tell you it is Rural and romanticaly pleasing. Seated in a truly retired spot, no house in sight, within a mile of Neighbours thinly settled, the House decent and neat stands under the shade of two venerable elms, on a gently rising, one flight of steps with a View of a spacious meadow before it, a small Rivulet meandring thro it, the grassy Carpet interspersd with a Variety of flowers, shrubs, several little mounts rising in the conic form, intersected with fertile spots of waving grain. The Horizon bounded with a thick wood as if nature intended a Barricade against the Canonade of some formidable despot. But here all is perfect Silence, nothing is heard but the melody of the groves and the unintelligible Language of the Animal Creation. From the profound stillness and serenity of this woody region I can almost persuade myself we are the only human inhabitants of Creation and instead of Lossing my fondness for Society I shall have a higher relish for the pleasures of friendly converse and social endearments, tho the Family we live with are very obliging. But alas the gloomy appearance of mortal things sets the Vanity of human life in the clearest demonstration before me, nor can I forbear to drop a tear over that Seminary which has been the glory of this Land, and lamenting those walls early dedicated to the Study of Science and calm Philosophy Instead of the delightfull harmony of nature nothing but the din of arms and the clarion of War, the Youth dispersd, the hands of their preceptors sealed up, those fountains of Knowledge the Library and Apparatus entirely useless and perhaps may fall into those hands whose highest joy would be to plunge us into darkness and Ignorance that we might become fitter objects for Slavery and Despotic rule. my partner wishes some attention might be paid to these important Treasures. Oh, shall we ever be restord to that peacefull abode, that happy roof, where retird from all the glitter and noise of the gay and busy world, my Consort would joy to finish his mortal life in in-

vestigating the great Temple of the Skies and adoring the Divine Architect of Heaven and quietly quitting this lower Creation.

When I think of the sufferings of my Friends in Boston, I am ashamed that my inconvenience should have such an undue effect upon me. I blush that I have so little Fortitude to encounter the Struggles we must expect to meet before the unnatural Campaign is over. I must confess I sometimes Indulge Fears which excite mirth rather than Sympathy in my Philosop[h]er. I have not seen our son since his return from sea. It is a Satisfaction that our Sons possess that love of Liberty which will engage them in the Cause of their Bleeding Country. It would give me great pleasure to pay you a Visit in your hospitable abode of peace and elegance, but the Length of the journey and the uncertainty of the times forbid it. It would add Inexpressible pleasure to us to see you in our Rural retirement, then might I profit by your Example of Equanimity and patience in times of Affliction. We are now cut off from all our Living, but those divine intimations in that sacred Book which have been the Consolation of many an exild one must be our Support. pray let me hear from you as often as possible. As it has been the mode of some distinguished Patriots on the other side the water in their late letters to a person of my acquaintance in these perilous times not to affix any Signature to them but that of Sentiment and Affection, so in humble imitation, after offering my partner's and my best Affection to you and Coll. Warren to subscribe yours Unalterably

[*No signature.*]

James Warren to Samuel Adams

Watertown, *June* 21, 1775

My Dear Sir, — I got up yesterday morning with a determination to have wrote to you and acknowledged the pleasure I received by yours, but was then prevented and shall be able now to write very little before the Bearer will call for this. The Multiplicity of Business to be done in the present Situation and Hurry of our Affairs fills up every moment of my Time with an Attention hardly tolerable. The late Action at Charlestown you will hear of before this reaches you. I gave our Friend, J. Adams, an Imperfect Account of it yesterday.[1] I refer you to him and haveing nothing to be relied on since shall only say that tho' the Troops and Torys in Boston Exult much, I think they have nothing to Bragg of but the possession of the Ground, and what was still of more Consequence to us, the Death of our worthy Friend Doctr. Warren. but you may de-

1 Vol. I. 62, *supra.*

pend on it they paid very dearly for their Acquisition. I believe we shall find their killd and wounded very great, perhaps not much less than 1000, and among them many officers. Their Troops that came over it is said were 5000, Commanded by Lord How. it is amazeing how uncertain we remain to this time of many facts you might suppose we were fully possessd of. we are not at this time able to ascertain the number of our own men killd and wounded, tho' we have reason to suppose they will not greatly Exceed 100. we are well pleased with the Spirit and Resolutions of your Congress. we could only have wished you had suffered us to have Embraced so good an Opportunity to form for ourselves a Constitution worthy of Freemen. all Bodies have their Foibles. Jealousy, however Groundless, may predominate in yours. we have, however, submitted and are sending out our Letters and shall Express our Gratitude by this Conveyance for your kindness and Benevolence to us in this Respect. our Good Major Hawley can be very sincere and your Brother Cushing I suppose likes it. he has relieved me by an Intimation of a probability that you will regulate the Constitution of all the Colonies. I must again refer you to my Friend Adams for my Sentiments of the Situation of our own Army. you would tremble to be possessd of the true state of it. fine fellows you know our Countrymen are and want nothing but a general of [*struck out*] abilities to make them a fine army. all our Efforts, which are many, cannot supply that defect. Yours must do it. could you believe he never left his House on Saturday last. I shall Add no more. I wish that was the worst of it. by the way I must do Justice to Thomas. he is a good Officer and is Esteemed. we have no trouble with his Camp; it is always in good order and things are Conducted with dignity and Spirit in the military Stile. we Yesterday chose Heath to succeed our Friend Warren as second Major General. Whitcomb is the first. The Humanity of the Good Genl. Gage that we have heard so much of has reduced Charlestown to ashes and will I presume treat all other Towns in his power in the same manner. I am now called on and must conclude, with my regards, etc., to all our Friends and am with my best wishes for every Happiness to you your Friend

JAS: WARREN

do write to me and among other things let me know how it is with your Health and Spirits.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

WATERTOWN, *July* 9th, 1775

. . . . . .

I dined Yesterday with Genl. Washington. he is an amiable man and fully answers the high Character you and my Friend Adams have given of him. I admire the Activity, Spirit and Obligeing Behaviour of Miflin. Coll. Read [Reed] is a very sensible, agreable Gentleman. . . . The armys have been for some time very quiet. we hear little from them, but at times a few Cannon. this Morning they have fired many, I suppose on Roxbury. I wish we were able to return the Compliment. I should have told you if I had not done it before that we are Concerned here about the Arrangement of the other Generals, particularly our own. I can't tell you how high Thomas' Character runs here. he was by far the best Officer we had. I hope you'l find some way to rectifie what realy is a mistake. I fear your Excessive Establishments may be the Ground of Uneasiness. I hope they wont descend lower than to the Generals. I observe you are very spareing of your Intelligence but I am well pleased with some of your proceedings I have heard off, and my Expectations are much raised with what is to come. if the present policy, or rather Folly, of Britain should last a little longer we may be a Grand and a happy People. I now fear the repeal of the Acts which I have heretofore wished for. We talk of riseing this day to take a little Breath before we meet in General Assembly. the arrival of the Generals have relieved us of much trouble from the Army. when are we to see all the Governments, and our own with them, reformed and set upon a Good Bottom. we look for such an Event. dont you talk of adjourning this way. I find the General wishes for it. we have done it, all along we hear that some of the Troops destined for York are arrived and the whole Expected every Minute, and that the army in Boston are prepareing for some new Expedition. have many Boats of a particular Construction, flat bottomed and Calculated for Shoal Water. I Expect another Action very soon. A few more such as the last will ruin them. I refer you to Mr. J. Adams to whom I have given an Account of that matter which I believe true. I wrote to him Yesterday and he will have it by this Opportunity. do let me know how your Health is. I met Mrs. Adams the other Day. She was well and looked as Blooming as a Girl. I Pity the poor Creatures left in Boston. was very glad to see your Son out. My regards to all our Friends. I am obliged to Mr. Cushing for his frequent mention of me. I am your Friend, JAS: WARREN

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library. A part of this letter is printed in I. 69, *supra*, and only what was not in that note is here given.

I have just heard that our Army at Roxbury succeeded last Night in an Attempt to Burn Brown's House which Excited their Ire to fire the Cannon this morning.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Watertown, *July* 20, 1775

My Dear Sir, — I had the pleasure of yours of the 2d Instant by Mr. Thomas this day. it has been so long on its passage that I shall look for another in a day or two, tho' I claim no title to such a favour but from the most sincere Friendship. I am very sorry you have so much reason to Complain of your friends. I flatter myself, however, that I am not the most negligent of them. if I have not done my Duty I shall Endeavour for the future to reform, if you Continue to wish for Letters from me.

They Certainly have paid Excessively dear for the purchase of Bunker's Hill, but your Intelligence of the Death of How is without foundation. he seems to have deserved that fate and, perhaps, it is reserved to the next dome they may take. I want much to see you, but the Importance of the Business you are Engaged in suppresses every desire of that kind for the present. I am sensible from what has Transpired, tho' you have not been perticular, that your Patience is put to the Trial. I hope it will be supported. you flatter me with great Expectations. I hope I shall not be disappointed, but you must be aided by the folly and Wickedness of Britain. so much Moderation and Timidity still prevail here that there is no doing without them. I should be glad to give you a minute Account of our Civil and Military Affairs, but they are so numerous and so Complicated that it is difficult to know where to begin, or where to End, and besides I have wrote pretty fully to our good Friend Mr. Adams,[2] which I consider in some Sort as writing to you. Our New Assembly met here yesterday. Chose only a Speaker and Clerk — your unworthy Friend for the first, Mr. Freeman for the second. the Choice of Concellors was postponed till Tomorrow Morning. I must furnish you with a List of them by another Opportunity. The Inhabitants of your poor devoted Town had a very Social Collection from their dispersions at Concord on Tuesday last to the number of about 200 and Chose Mr. [Samuel] Adams, Hancock, [John] Pitts and [Dr. Benjamin] Church to Represent them. I have no Expectation that the Election of Tomorrow will please either you or me. I could almost wish we were again reduced to a Congress till we had a Constitution worth Contending for. our As-

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 Vol. 1. 82, *supra*.

sembly is numerous, about 160 Members, pretty nearly of the old Complection. Our Congress was dissolved yesterday morning. their most material proceedings you have seen in the papers. from them you will be able to form some Judgment of the general Tenour of the whole. I cant describe the difficulties we have had from the Caprice, Humour and whims of the Army, as well as many others. The Army is now perfectly quiet and in good Spirits, while their's is out of humour, ill supplied and dispirited. from the Appearances here, situated so nigh as we are to two Camps, you could hardly suppose an Army was within fifty miles of us. The Town is as still as perhaps it ever was on a Sunday. This Fast has been observed as you could wish, with that deference to the Authority that appointed it, and with that devotion that our Circumstances require. it is a grand Solemnity. 3,000,000 of People on their knees at once, supplicating the Aid of Heaven is a strikeing Circumstance and a very singular one in America. May the Blessings of Heaven follow in answer to our prayers. it gives me great satisfaction to hear your Health is better. if Gage's Proclimation has Contributed to it, as I am told it has, I will in one Instance acknowledge my Obligations to him. I am desired to Inclose to you a Letter from one Mrs. Nash and to desire Mr. Hooper's Care of it. my regards to all Enquireing Friends and sincerely yours

JAS: WARREN

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

WATERTOWN, *July* 27th, 1775

MY DEAR SIR, — I yesterday received yours of the 12th Instant [2] by your Friend, Mr. Hughes. I shant fail to Introduce him to our friends and do everything I can to make his Visit here agreable to him. the Recommendation you have given is quite sufficient to Engage my good Opinion of him. I have but Just seen him. Expect to see him again this day. we sent you a Hint sometime ago with regard to takeing up Crown Officers. I could wish to see it Improved more and especially in one Instance. if I have Tryon's Character, his Intrigues are dangerous and require your perticular Attention. no Events of more Consequence that that of Choosing your Honour to the Board have taken place since my last. The Armys Continue to look at each other and fortify themselves. no Action or prospect of [one.] it is said they are very sickly and dispirited in Boston. Our Army is tolerably well and in good Spirits. I really wish to

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 Vol. I. 82, *supra*.

have something to write you of the Operations of war, but it is a barren time. I have not been at the Camp since my arrival here — I mean to our new Assembly. we are going on in the old way with Business enough before us. The Council met but yesterday. they choose a Secretary this day. I presume you will be the man. I hear you talk of adjourning. I want to see you, but I fear if you adjourn the same Reverence will not attend the proceedings of your Committee. my room is full of Company this morning and I am much hurried. I cant therefore add more than my regards to all friends, perticularly my good Friend, Mr. Adams. I am sincerely your Friend,

J. Warren

I shall write you again as soon as I can. we have great Numbers of Gentlemen resorting to this Colony from the rest. could wish to know what men you would like to hear of.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Watertown, *Augt.* 4th, 1775

My Dear Sir, — I am greatly obliged to you for your Letter of the 24th July [2] which I received on Sunday last. I Intended to have wrote you before this and perticularly by an Express of the Generals, which he told me would go on Wednesday, and I suppose is now gone; but I have not had it in my power to do it. Interruptions of one kind or another have prevented whenever I had assigned a Time for it. besides I have some doubts how it should be performed. I am sensible Confiding in your Candour I have wrote with great Ease to myself and I suppose Incorrectness; but have Endeavoured to Collect facts, etc., and give them to you as well as I could, and it seems to me, as far as I can recollect, I have generally given you or my Good Friend, Mr. J. Adams (which I conceive to be the same thing) all the Facts and material Events that had taken place here which I could suppose you was not otherways acquainted with. however, I designed it and if I have failed from any other reason but from want of ability, will try to reform, being very well disposed both from Inclination and Policy to Contribute all I can to the weight and Importance of the Mass[achusetts] Delegates, and Especially to that of Mr. Adams who I can assure you I think was a Judicious Choice and is a man after my own heart.

I can again assure you with Confidence that every thing in the Army is easy. I know of no Suspicions or Uneasiness among the Officers or

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 Vol. I. 89, *supra*.

Soldiers. General Spencer at first left the Camp but is again returnd and I believe Behaves well. General Washington's, Lee's, Gates', and the Character of the Gentlemen with them are greatly Esteemed and unlimited Confidence is placed in them. The state of our Army is very pleasing. they are Healthy, vigorous, Intrepid, and orderly and well supplied with every thing but one. that I cant think of without Gloom and fearful Apprehensions, but I trust the Goodness of a kind Providence and the Vigilance of your Congress. for God's Sake, Exert yourselves to free us from our Apprehensions. you will hear from the General on this Head. the Situation of our Brethren in Boston is beyond description miserable, in want of Necessaries, sickly and dyeing, Tyranny, Famine and Pestilence are their Portion at once. I must refer you to my Friend Adams to whom I wrote all the perticulars I knew with regard to them, and likewise for the little Skirmishes that have taken place after so profound a Tranquility.[1] very little has happened since I wrote him. the Rifle men and some others are continually firing on them and they frequently return the fire of their Cannon. we kill them some men almost every day. The People at Machias, an obscure, small Town in the Eastermost parts of this Colony, you may remember some time ago took two Sloops from one Jones (a dog) and a Tender. they have now taken another Tender without the loss of a man, and among other things with ten bbls. powder and £50 sterling in Cash. in this way they will be a Maritime Power. they Bid as fair for it as Charthage in the days of Queen Dido, and almost as much so as England in the days of Queen Bess. We may be able another Year to Convey the Delegates to Philadelphia (if they Choose to go by water) against the Navy of Britain. Are we not to hear of an Expedition into Canada and of Treaties with foreign powers, at least Commercial. do let the Grandeur and Importence of your measures command the Astonishment while the Wisdom of them Excites the Reverence of the world. You tell me you Expect a short Adjournment. I will be glad to see you. we are drudging on in the old way, and a dull one it is, not so much as Enlivened with the usual Altercations with an Infamous Governor. I Inclosed a Letter for you in Mr. Adams. give my perticular regards to him. My Compliments to all Friends. Mr. Paine I will next write to him. I have taken Care to see your Son provided for and should have done it before but for a mistake. I took another man of the same Name, a Surgeon of one of the Regiments, to be him and signed the warrant with great pleasure, as I always feel Interested in whatever relates to your family. no News from England. what the old Squaw is about, we cant conjecture and dont much Care. I hope she is raising Troops to subdue America. I am your Friend. Adieu. JAS: WARREN

1 Vol. I. 95, *supra*.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

WATERTOWN, *Sepr.* 28, 1775

MY DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure Yesterday of hearing for the first Time of your safe Arrival at Philadelphia, and of your performing the Journey in a manner that Contributed much to your Health, to the Sociability on the way, and to the Character of the Statesman. as it is said that Horsemanship and dexterity in rideing on the Saddle are necessary to Compleat that Character, I really give you Joy on this Occasion and that this Important Acquisition was made by the help of flannel without Injury. I am obliged to my Friend, Mr. Adams, for this Intelligence, whose Letter [2] I received yesterday by Mr. Cabot wholly on that Subject, which shews the Importance of it in his mind and his fondness for Fame and Glory. for he assumes the whole merit of first Adviseing and then giveing the Necessary Instructions. I never feel disposed to lessen his Glory and Fame and shall readily in this Instance allow him the Honour of Compleating the Character of a Great Statesman and prolonging the Life of a distinguished Patriot. In my last to Mr. Adams I promised to write you soon. as I always choose to keep my promises, I sit down this morning for that purpose, tho' I am unable to give you any Important Intelligence. All things remain pretty much in the same state as when I last wrote Mr. Adams. we make Advances upon them daily with our works. they have for a week past been very still, scarce a shott has been fired. Arnold went off with his detachment, Embarked at Newberry Port, and without Interruption arrived safe at Kennebeck. it is said they supposed we gave out as a Blind that this Expedition was designed for Quebec, and that the real Intention was to attack Hallifax, get their Stores and destroy their Guard there. Accordingly a Fleet and Force is sent to defend it, unless they practise this kind of policy and have gone to Quebec. but what but their Cowardice or want of Common Sense should have prevented our small Fleet in their passage from Newberry to Kennebeck. they are indeed poor Dogs. Wallace at Newport makes great Havock among the Trade and sends whole Fleets to Boston. our Machias Admiral has been and Burnt the Fort on St. John's River, took away all the Cannon, six or seven, and has taken a Vessel Bound to Boston with thirty head Cattle, seventy Sheep, some Swine, 2000 lbs. Butter and Cheese, seventy Dollars, six watches, some English Goods. Our Assembly are setting, but no one Event of any Consequences has taken place. do let me know how we are to account for the strange delay of the Money that was ordered from Philadelphia. our Conjectures are

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 Vol. I. 109, *supra*.

various and my Curiosity is much raised. it is certainly very Extraordinary to have an Army of 20,000 men, appointed and stationed without one single Dollar to support or provide for them. The Character and Credit of many of the Officers at Stake and suffering. The provisions in a manner stopd. Our Friends astonished and our Enemies diverted. I shall write you as soon as possible again. in the meantime am with wishes for your Happiness your Friend

J. W.

Present with the Inclosed Letter my regards to my Friend Adams, my Compliments to Mr. Cushing, Pain, Hancock, Ward, and all Enquiring Friends, if there be any, particularly to Mr. Collins to whom shall write soon.

James Warren to (?) [1]

Watertown, *Oct.* 2d, 1775

Sir, — You will see by this Instance what difficulties you may Involve yourself in, by what at first you perhaps meant only as a Compliment. As was no more than the Natural Effusions of a friendly disposition I have had it in Contemplation to write to you, ever since you thought it worth while to request it, and have waited only for some Events of Importance to take place, that I might with the greater probability succeed in my Wishes by gratifying you with some Intelligence. Things in our Camp and about Boston remain pretty much as they were when you left us. We have made some small Advances upon them since; every thing of that Kind as soon as they discover it, has Irritated and made them very waspish for a little while. A smart Cannonade at first has been the Certain Consequence, which has done us very little Injury, and we have generally Treated with Neglect, and suffered them to Tire themselves like other Children with their own ill humour, till after a little while when the peevish fit has gone off they can see us without any seeming Emotion finish at our Ease, what at first so highly provoked them. I do not recollect any Skirmishes that have happened between our Troops and theirs, or any Important Military Movements, I mean since you was here. it has been a rare thing for ten days past to hear a Cannon. we keep them Confined and watch them with Care. I am inclined to think we shall have occasion to do little else. The Duty and fatigue of the army in Boston is so great and Intollerable, that Joined with their manner of Living must sweep them off by Thousands. Desertions from them are frequent,

1 From the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library.

very commonly four or five in a week. they say the soldiers are very Uneasy, Almost ready to Mutiny, that they have had fresh provisions served them but once since the Battle of Lexington and no Vegetables. that they are in their Beds but one Night in four and that great Numbers wait only for an Opportunity to desert. A Party of our Men last week went upon Governor's Island and brought off all the Stock except a few Horses which they could not catch and did not think prudent to fire att. The People at Marblehead have taken a Vessel from New Providence with Turtle and other delacacies the produce of that Island and designed for the delicate palates of the Rebels in Boston, but by a S: West Wind forced into Marblehead. The People of Cape Ann have taken a Brigantine from Quebec for Boston with Cattle, Sheep, Oatmeal, and some Forrage for the Rebel army and Carried her into that place. The armed Vessel at Machias have destroyed the remains of the fort at St. John's River, brought off some Cannon and taken a Brigantine from Nova Scotia for Boston with Stock, etc. Coll. Arnold was eight days ago sixty miles up Kennebeck with his detachment for Quebec, all in high Spirits and well provided, so that we have the most pleasing prospects of Success in Canada. Two letters were found on Board the Brigantine from Quebec wrote by one Gamble, who chartered her. he is an Officer in the Army and Intimately acquainted with Gage. one Letter is to Gage, the other to Maj. Sherriff, telling them that no Aid is to be Expected to Government from that Quarter, that Carlton dare not Issue his Orders to the Militia, supposeing they would not be obeyed, and that the Canadians, poisoned from N. England, had got the use of that damned Abused word Liberty. We have no Communication with Boston but by a Boat to Chelsea once or twice a week, in which are suffered to come out only one or two persons of little or no Consequence. We cant learn with any Certainty if any reinforcements are Expected from England. the Soldiers are Indeed told that large ones will soon arrive. this we consider as Calculated to quiet them and reconcile them to the severity of their Duty and hard fare. I have now only to apologise for this Letter which is wrote in a hurry and with a Carelessness only to be used with the most Intimate Acquaintance, among which I should be proud to rank you as one. I am your sincere Friend

JAS: WARREN

My regards to all Friends.

There is a Report that Gage is Superceded and that the Command of the Army and Government here is given to Howe.[1]

1 In substance this letter is not unlike that printed in 1. 122, so it could hardly have been written to John Adams, to whom Warren did write on the same day.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

WATERTOWN, *Octr.* 23d, 1775

MY DEAR SIR, — I have waited to the last Hour in hopes of haveing the Advantage of some delightful subject to write on, as you gave me reason to hope for in one of your last favours; but all things hereabouts remain in pretty much the same Situation. we look at their Lines and they view ours, and Consider them in the same formidable Light. Nothing in the Military way has taken place here nor do I know that any plan is on foot, or under Consideration. they want Courage to attack us and we want powder to attack them and so there is no Attack on either side. No Reinforcements are yet arrived. we may however Expect them every day. I believe they look for them every hour. if they come they will be a great relief to them. their duty is now Excessive severe. they are upon Guard at least two nights in three, which with the provisions they have makes them very sickly and uneasy. it is Conjectured by some that are out of Town that a great part of them would make no resistance if attacked, but that is a Circumstance too precarious to depend on. however I could wish for a Resolution in our Councils to make an Attempt, tho' I know it to be hazardous. they are, Indeed, very strong, and if we should fail the Attempt would both cost us many a Brave fellow and perhaps damp and discourage those that remained, as well as occasion Murmurings, finding faults with the Conduct of Officers, and many other Effects of disappointment. but if we should succeed the Consequences would be Important and Grand. I can hardly think they would look us in the face again even with Amherst at the Head of 20,000 Hanoverians, Hessians, Scotch Rebels, Irish Papists, etc. What then is the probability? Upon this Question my Mind has often Ballanced and does now, and nothing but Faith, strong Faith, and Confidence to a degree of Enthusiasm, preponderates and determines my wishes. I have such reliance on the Righteousness of our Cause as Inclines me to think any thing will succeed. I wrote yesterday every Article of Intelligence I could collect to my good Friend, Mr. J. Adams,[2] every thing of that kind I write to one of you I Consider as wrote to both. I shant therefore trouble you with Repetition. Nothing has turned up this day but a Confirmation of the Arrival of one of our Vessels (tho' not the one I mentioned to him) with $7\frac{1}{2}$ Tons powder, 500 Stands of Arms, and 8 Cannon mounted on Deck. she is in at Townsend, near Kennebeck. The Grand Conference Ended last Evening. what is Concluded upon I know not. You great Folks keep things so Impenetrably secret that we small ones must be Content with our own Con-

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 Vol. I. 149, *supra.*

jectures. Mr. Lynch and Coll. Harrison have spent this day at Roxbury and go of in the Morning. I am just returned from head quarters where I have been to take my Leave of them, but missed of the pleasure of seeing them. I have left my Compliments and an Invitation to Breakfast with me in the Morning: I may or may not see them. I am however Inclined to think they will leave us well satisfied and I believe their Visit here will be serviceable. I Imagine they are so with regard to the Establishment for our Army and Convinced it was made on principles of Oeconomy. I shall Inclose you to be made use of at discretion an Abstract from the Journal of the Year 1759, by which you will see how much the Expense then Exceeds the Expense now. Our General Court are drudging on in the old way, with this difference only, that questions are more numerous, more difficult and complicated, and less Abilities to determine them. I never flatter any Man, but really want you here. I have taken some pleasure when I have been in the house with you. I take none now. I last Evening received a Letter from Church,[1] Conceived in a stile truly poetical and in Terms of the greatest Assurance and Confidence, desireing from his high Opinion of the Immaculate House of Representatives, and great regard and Affection for his Constituents, to resign his Seat. he undoubtedly Intended to steal a march upon and outgeneral us. I dont know but he will succeed, and prevent an Expulsion. I wish this was *Cushing's House.* we have in hand a Militia Bill,[2] a Bill to Encourage Individuals fixing out Privateers and to Establish Courts of Admiralty to determine on Captures by the Verdict of a Jury,[3] to prevent Persons holding places Incompatible, by which your Honour is not to be allowed to hold the place of a Justice of the Superior Court and I am as a Sheriff Excluded from a Seat at the Board and as an Officer of the Army from a Seat in either House, so that I may in time, how soon I know not, have more leisure to write to you. several others are in Contemplation. I thank you for your Letters and wish for more. I have forwarded to Mrs. Adams and your Son those you Inclosed by safe hands. they were well not long since and hope are so now. My regards to my Friends Mr. Hancock, Cushing and Pain; also to my Friend Collins, for whom I have a great Respect. I am with great Sincerity your Friend

J. W.

I have a Thousand things yet to say that Time and Circumstances wont permit. I hope the Unexampled Barbarity of our Enemies will remove all hesitations and dubitations and stimulate to revenge as well as Justice. Mrs. Warren, my good wife, sends her regard to my good Friend.

1 Dr. Benjamin Church. 2 *Province Laws*, v. 445. 3 *Ib.*, 436.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

WATERTOWN, *Octr.* 26th, 1775

MY DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of receiving yours by Mr. Tracey two days ago, and am much Obliged to you for it. I am sorry your Friends dont write you oftner, especially those of them who are more capable of it than I am, and have Abundantly more leisure. I think their Negligence Unpardonable — that of the Committee in perticular; but to tell you the Truth I never Expected your Correspondence would be much Enlarged by their Appointment. I wrote to you not more than three days ago, and now again purely to shew the readiness I have to Comply with your requests and my own duty. not haveing a single new Article of Intelligence to hand you, how long you will wish the Continuance of such a Correspondence I can't say. I am very sensible of the hazard and danger of depending so much on a Change of Measures in Britain. that is a Rock that some of us have ever carefully avoided and should never split upon, but in a general Shipwreck, when we must go with the rest, whether it be occasioned by Timidity, Folly or Wickedness. I was in hopes before this to have found more such Instances and Examples as Lord Effingham has given the world; but the prevailing Luxury and Consequent rage for money has absorbed every other Sentiment and left scarce the least Trace of honour or virtue in any public Class among them. I perceive you had got Church's Letter, which, with an Account of his manner of Conducting this matter, gives you every thing we have here on which we Judge of him and the Criminality of his Conduct. there are Indeed some other Collateral Evidences against him, such as his keeping this Correspondence a secret to every one, Instead of Communicating it to the President or some of the Members of Congress, or to the General, if he Intended it for the Good of the publick, especially when the General in great Confidence has Sollicited him to Recommend to him some proper person in Boston from whom he might receive Intelligence. Add to all which the General Inattention and Unfeeling manner he discovered when he was among us. I used to Impute that to the Indolence of his Temper, but am now Convinced that it proceeded from the Wickedness of his Heart. I have now no difficulty to account for the knowledge Gage had of all our Congress Secrets, and how some later plans have been rendered abortive; or for the Indulgence shewn him when he went into Boston after the Lexington Battle. do I discover a want of charity that the Evidences wont warrant. The judgment of the publick and of Individuals are very severe upon the Letter here. you are to consider that at the Time this letter was wrote, our Army were forming very fast into Order

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

and discipline, and were so formidable that he could hardly Advise them to make another Attack with any prospect of Success. And with regard to powder we had about that time many Accounts of the Arrival of it, which I dare say he believed. when he could no longer promise himself that the Event of the Contest would be as lucky as the defeat of our Army at Bunker's Hill, it seems natural that he should tell them the Truths he has done in order to Enforce his Sollicitations for Peace. but I quit this subject as it might lead me into a page or two more, and only now Inform you that we have this day taken the proper steps to have him brought to the Barr of the House Tomorrow, 10 o'Clock. then I expect him and as great a Concourse as Curiosity can Collect.

The 27th. Doctr. Church has been brought according to order to the Barr and has made with great Assurance and Confidence an artful, plausible defence, attended with all the poetical Oratory he was master of, and really has Exceeded what I thought him Capable of. the Guards with our Messenger have taken him back and we are now debateing by Candle Light, while I write to a Friend I think will never fall under a Single Suspicion of Treason to his Country. we have no kind of news. shall write you again soon. whether we shall pass Judgment or suspend it least we Influence the final Judgment on the Charge against him, or whether we shall now admit his resignation are the questions. I suppose Coll. Reed will be the Bearer of this and give you a full and ample Account at least of the state of the Army. I have taken good Care of your Letters. I do sincerely wish you every Happiness. Adeu.

J. W.

You must make my regards to your Brethren Coll. Hancock, Mr. Cushing and Mr. Paine, and any other Gentlemen who may think it worth while to accept them. Time wont permit and you may add, I have nothing Important to write.

My good Friend Mr. Adams shall write to if possible. Mrs. Warren, one of the Choicest Gifts of Heaven, sets by att the writeing this Postscript and desires her regards to your Honour.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Watertown, *Novr.* 12th, 1775

Dear Sir, — The Bearer of this I suppose will be Mr. Revere, who Carries you from the Council some very Important dispatches, taken by a Fish Boat in a Schooner made Prize off and Carried into Beverly.

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

Among other things there is to be found in one Letter the Success and Effects of your Loyal and Dutiful Petition. Administration from it presumed there must be a Weakness among us. this presumption has Animated and Encouraged them to pursue vigorous measures and exert their whole strength. what will be thought of the piddling Genius now. The five Regiments destined for Boston this Fall are partly arrived and the rest daily Expected. how many are in I cant learn with certainty. it is said they are in Choice Spirits in Boston, tho' they are starveing for wood and fresh Provisions, and in want of Bread. with regard to the Inhabitants they are at least as miserable as ever. it was reported last week that Howe had called upon all that were desirous of leaving the Town to give in their names by a certain time, I think the next day, at 12 o'Clock.[1] we Expected proposals for their comeing out but hear no more of this matter. Our Military Movements are much the same as they have been lately. they keep within their walls and we watch them. the want of a certain Article has prevented our being able to do more. with an Abundance of it, some Capital and Grand Stroke would have been struck and perhaps put an End to the War. my Greatest Uneasiness arises from the present State of the two Armies. Ours is new modelling, while theirs is reinforceing. in the new Arrangement of our Army the Regiments are to be reduced from thirty-nine to twenty seven. you will easily conceive the difficulty of doing it without disgusting Soldiers as well as Officers. our own men you know are much attached to perticular Officers, and I hear there is in the Camp much Conversation and Uneasiness on this Subject. I am not in the Cabinet. I hope matters have been well digested and that this Business will end well. it is certainly a Critical Time. Prizes chiefly with wood from the Eastward and Stock, Hay and provisions from Nova Scotia are frequently bringing into our Harbours. if these dont Enrich us, the want of them must distress our Enemies. the Vessel from Ireland is, however, a valuable Prize and has many good Bits on Board. The Intelligence you will have by the Bearer, with the R[oyal] silly Proclamation,[2] will, I presume, put an End to the Petitioning. I shall Expect some Movements worthy of so august a Body. A Declaration of Independency, Treaties with foreign powers, a Test that shall draw a clear and distinguishing Line between Whiggs and Tories, and some other matters in the same stile, however they might formerly be thought Extravagant, may now perhaps be considered by even piddling Genius, as not Exceeding the Line of Moderation. Our General Court was adjourned last Night to the 29th Instant. the two Houses have not parted in the best Humour — a poor time to altercate. I have not time to give you the State of the Con-

1 Broadsides (*Collections*, LXXV.) No. 1826.
2 Of August 23. Broadsides (*Collections*, LXXV.) No. 1818.

troversy. the appointing Field Officers is the Subject. The Council Claim the Exclusive Right as a Prerogative of the Governour; we claim an Equal Share with them as a part of the Assembly of this Colony by Virtue of your Resolves which are so clear and plain that there is no room for doubt and which, if not rightly understood by us, do distinguish us from the other Colonies by depriving us of a great privilege given them. can an Adherence to the old rotten Charter be a Ballance for haveing the militia in the hands of the People. they have lost much of the Respect and Confidence of the People by their Behaviour on this Occasion. tho the Occasion is malancholy it Excites ridicule in the Gravest among us to see more especially some Individuals among them contending for the Prerogative of the Governour with all the Zeal of Bernard and Hutchinson, the Hauteur and Pomp of Majesty. you would certainly think of some ridiculous Animal apeing a fine Gentleman, or etc. Mr. Revere waits. I must refer you to him for the perticulars of a little Affair last week, the Regulars landing on Sewals Point, etc. I am yours, etc.

J. W.

My regards to all Friends, perticularly Mr. Adams to whom I wrote per Capt. Mcpherson a few days since. dont think I have not a Respect for your Body. I have, but some of them certainly think themselves either Kings or Governours at least. you wont know them when you get here.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Watertown, *Decr.* 5th, 1775

My Dear Sir, — I Received your favour of the 4th November [2] Just before I went Home, where I Tarried for a Rarity about nine or ten days and returned here last Week. I thank you for the Letter and as the Sentiment pleased me much I have made use of it, or part of it, to Counteract that penurious narrow Spirit too often prevailing in a House of Representatives and to Impress upon others the Necessity of Guarding against such an Incompatibility of Offices as we have before very Justly, as well as loudly Complained of. it is indeed too true that the doctrine you mention with regard to School Masters has been preached even in the House, as I am told in the debates on the Tax Bill and they are not Exempted as usual. this is a Circumstance I never knew till the Bill was passed, haveing unluckily been out of the House in every reading of it. I should certainly have Exerted my small Abilities had I been there, in sup-

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 Vol. I. 169, *supra*.

port of the principles and policy of our Fathers. Our Government, however disposed to promote Virtue and the public and private happiness of the People, is not Considered here as permanent. we are all in Continual Expectation of another Change, and besides the late Conduct of the Council has weakened that Confidence and Reverence necessary to give a well disguised Government its full Operation and Effects. I hope however there will be an End put to that. I believe your and my Friend's Letter will make them more modest. I think I see it, tho' I have not seen the Letter. they say you have left things Just as they were. I wrote to my Friend, J. Adams, two days ago,[1] which went yesterday by Capt. Stephenson of the Riflemen. to him I must refer you for all the perticulars I could then recollect. since which the only material things that have taken place are Letters from Arnold in the Neighborhood of Quebec, and some more prizes taken. I suppose you will have the Letters received, or the Copies of them, by this Express. You will by them see that this Arnold is a Genius in this way. he has made a March under such Circumstances, and attended with such difficulties, as modern story cant equal. it must be Compared with Hanibal's over the Alps, or Xenophon's retreat. I think we are in a fine way to have possession of all Canada and perhaps Carleton too. Our Privateers more than answer our Expectations. since the Grand Prize I wrote Mr. Adams of several other vessels have been taken, perticularly one from Scotland dunnaged with Coal and filled up with Bail Goods to a very Considerable Amount and Consigned to James Anderson, who by the way is become a Captain in Gorham's Regiment of Fensible Americans. it is said another Vessel with dry Goods for Canada is also taken and one with Fish from the Land. this Success Confirms the Sentiments I have long had. Fifteen privateers fixed out last June would before this have put an End to the War, or at least have Obliged the Fleet and Army to leave Boston. the state of your dear Town and the remaining Inhabitants there is truly miserable. if the Successor of Gage would have more regard to his word than his predecessor, he wants his humanity. he last week turned ashore at pudding Point three hundred poor miserable Inhabitants, almost destitute of every necessary, and there left them Exposed to the rigour of the Season and it is said five or six died before they could be relieved. the Houses there are no Shelter, the windows are all out, and the floors taken up. this day we are in Expectation of another set being sent out in the same manner, but with the Addition of a Species of Barbarity any but a British Minister or British Soldier would Blush at. we are Informed he has Inoculated them in order the more Effectually to destroy them and spread the Small Pox among us. I have many things to say to you which time wont permit. I

1 Vol. I. 187, *supra*.

must therefore Conclude this Scroll wrote in hurry and Confusion and am your sincere Friend [*No signature.*]

Lord Stanhope's Son and another, said to be a relation of Lord North's, were Intercepted at Rhode Island in one of their Night Walks and secured. One of them offered 100 Guineas and his Gold Watch to be released. I think Stanhope Commanded a small armed Vessel.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Watertown, *Decr.* 19, 1775

My Dear Sir, — I have but very short notice of this Opportunity. you will therefore escape the Trouble of a long Letter from me at this time. you will doubtless be Informed by the General of the Military Operations, in what manner and when the Army began and advanced their works on Lechmore's Point, and of the Cannonading and Bombardment that has Ensued, and of the Success of it, of the several Prizes our Privateers have taken, and of the Loss of one of the Continental Privateers taken and Carried into Boston. it is said the People are sent to England. I shall therefore leave all those matters and, after Congratulating you on our Success in Canada and wishing for the Completion of our wishes in that quarter, tell you a little General Court News, and ask a little Congress News in return. the Capital matters we are Engaged in are regulating the Militia, paying of the Soldiery, aiding and assisting the Quartermaster General in Supplying the Army with Hay and wood, two very scarce Articles, fixing out Vessels for Importing Powder, etc., promoteing the Manufacture of Arms and Salt Petre, Building Powder Mills, and in short every thing else. it is Impossible to describe the Business we have to do. it is Increased, perhaps doubled, by this Colony being so much the Seat of War. we are to begin this day upon the Consideration of a Militia Bill reported yesterday. there being an End of the Contest between the two Houses I hope we shall get a good one. we are Emitting 75,000 more, not dareing to trust to a remittance from Philadelphia. Hay and wood have given us a deal of trouble. they are dear, but they are very scarce. the General has at times thought the People here Extravagant in their demands, and that they took unreasonable Advantages, while the Circumstances are such as would command the same or greater price for both if no Army was here and the Importation of Eastern wood stopd. to reconcile the General to these Sentiments to avoid any Imputation of that kind from the Continent and at the same time do Justice and give

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

satisfaction to our own People. It is Labor, etc. we are fixing out ten Vessels for powder, etc. these are all to go to the foreign W. Indies. We Conceive by your resolves we are not at Liberty to carry any produce, etc., to any other place, therefore, tho we have fine merchantable Fish we do not Ship it to Spain, where probably we might get powder, etc., with more certainty and less money. was this Intended or was it an Inadvertency.[1] the Manufacture of Salt petre is flourishing here beyond our Expectations. we have a Committee to Build two powder Mills, one at Sutton, the other at Stoughton.

when are we to hear of your Confederation, proposed in your last Session. is it not time to have the Constitution of our supream Legislative accurately fixd and fully Established and known. you have recommended to us to make a Law against harbouring deserters.[2] I wish you would recommend to all the Colonies to make similar and severe Acts against the Violaters of the Association. it appears to us Important and I believe must be done. the Soldiery in Boston are very sickly and Extremely distressed for necessaries; ours are healthy, vigorous and spirited. the Inlistments rather Increase. we last Fryday Chose delegates to represent us in Congress from the last of January next to the last of December. the only Alteration is Gerry in the room of Cushing, *whose Absence could no longer be dispensed with!* the Important Post he holds in the County of Suffolk requireing his Attendance may be the reason. I have not time to add one word more and Indeed can hardly recollect what I have wrote. My regards to my Friend Adams. I wrote him by last Post. should like to learn whether he or you ever receive any from me. Adeu.

What are become of the papers sent him by Coll. Reed which you said diverted you.

May Vessels be permitted to go to the W. Indies and elsewhere in Ballast to purchase molasses, etc. I dont know that it is against any of your resolves, and those Articles may be wanted. but then all the hard money will go. what Effect that may have on our Currency, etc., may be worth Considering. do let me have your Opinion as soon as you can on this subject.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [3]

Watertown, *January* 14, 1776

My Dear Sir, — I now set down to write to you after a longer Interval than the Obligations I readily Acknowledge myself under for your sev-

1 Vol. I. 203, *supra*. 2 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, III. 324.
3 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

eral favours can Justify. since my last I have been to Plymouth and been so Crouded with Business here that I have not been able to gratify my own Inclinations, or Comply with your desires. Very few things, however, have turned up here worthy of your Notice. The Military Operations are the same now as they have been for Months past, purely defensive and Guarding against the Excursions of the Enemy, Excepting a Little Affair which happened last Monday Night, which tho' not very Important was well Executed and is not without good Effects, Inureing our Soldiers to Service, giveing them fresh Spirits and Encourageing Inlistments. I mean the Burning the Houses at Charlestown, the perticulars of which, I dare say, you will have before this reaches you.

I wish it was in my power to give you a more favourable Account of the state of the Army than it is. The Inlistments by no means answer my Expectations, nor can I account for this Backwardness in a way satisfactory to myself. I cannot give you the Exact Numbers, but doubt whether they exceed 10 or 11,000 after all the Amazeing diligence and Trouble of the General, assisted by Endeavours of Individuals, as well as the General Court. I am very anxious about this matter. it is high time that our Army was Established. I could have wished that some other Mode had at first been adopted, but it is now too late to rectify any original Error. we must go on and do as well as we can. I shall only mention to you that I think the service has suffered and the Inlistments been Embarrassd by the low state in which you keep your Treasury here. had the General been able to have paid of the old army to the last of December, when their Term Expired, and to give Assurances for the pay of the Militia when their Continuance in the Army should End it might have produced many good Effects and, among others, added some Thousands to the Army. you will be surprised, perhaps, when I tell you there is but about 10,000 dollars here and that left by the necessary Parsimony of the General, not knowing what Occasion there might be for a little. The time for which our Militia came in Ends tomorrow. we have presumed so much on the *publick Spirit* of our Countryman as to make no other provision, tho' every thing depends on their staying, and they wish to be at Home. our House adjourned Yesterday Morning and the Members went down among them to use their Influence. I flatter myself the most of them will stay to the last of this Month. our Naval Operations have been for a while suspended, the Privateers mostly hauled up. I can therefore give you no Account of any late Captures. I hear they are again fixing and hope they will soon have their usual Success. Our General Court are Extremely Busy. the Business Crouding on them is, Indeed, without Bounds, besides the Common Business; and the availing ourselves of our present Situation to make some and repeal other Laws, the necessary At-

tention we are obliged to give the Army is a very great Addition to it. Could your Congress be sensible of our Assiduity, and the Chearfulness with which we submit to the Trouble and a great Expense of Time and Money for the publick good, it would of itself be an Irrefragable Argument of the publick Spirit which *reigns here.* The Continent calls for aid to the Army in wood, Hay, Blankets, Men, etc., are of themselves sufficient to Employ us the length of our usual Sessions. we have, however, been so long used to Climbing Mountains that we go on with a perseverance that demands Admiration. I am sensible the Circumstances you mention must give you pain. they are, indeed, not just. you must, however, Extend your Charity and make Allowances to some of the Authors. I really believe the great perplexities they have been Involved in have prevented their seeing things in their true Light. The principle thing peculiar to ourselves that we have been Engaged in is a Militia Bill, which with much difficulty is now nearly Compleated. It is too lengthy and would be too tedious to give you a perticular Account of. it may suffice to say that all poles from sixteen to fifty, with the usual Exceptions, are to form the Train Band, and the Alarm much as usual. it provides for three Major Generals in the Colony, and a Brigadier in every County where are more than one Regiment, who, with the Field Officers of the Regiments are to be chosen by either House with the Concurrence of the other, and Commissioned by the Council. A ship is arrived at Falmouth which left England the beginning of November. by her we have the Addresses of both Houses in the usual state, some Additions to the Minority. Parliament and Administration going on the same way as usual, etc., etc., which are things of no great Consequence. The passengers relate some Interesting Facts: that the People begin to feel and stirr themselves; that 1800 Troops sailed for Boston were drove back by hard gales of wind in a shattered Condition; that 13,000 Sheep and Hoggs were shipd and sailed for Boston drove back and lost, which are to be ranked in that Train of Events Providence has ordered for the Salvation of this Country. you are to have the Papers from the General and so I shall add no more, but Improve the Little Time left me to Enquire whether your Congress should not by this time have a fixed Constitution that we may know and Consider as *permanent;* whether it is not time that you should form your Alliances as the —— has his. what is become of your Fleet. what is the destination of the French Armament in the West Indies, and whether you cant Improve so favourable a Circumstance to our Advantage, etc., etc. if we are not yet ripe for wise, prudent and Spirited measures when shall we be. but I must leave these Enquiries and Expect that if Consistent with your Engagements and Honour you will tell me more than I ask for. Our Good Friend, Mr. J. Adams, will set out in a week or ten

days. I wish him with you, as I think this must be an Important Crisis and I hope will produce great Events. I am with the greatest Sincerity your Friend

[*No signature.*]

We are Improveing the Manufactory of Saltpetre with great rapidity. we Expect in three weeks Newberry Port alone will make 100 lbs. per day. Powder Mills are also Building.

No News from Canada later than 5 Dec. when the Armies were Joined, reinforced by Canadians and in good Health and Spirits, and all Appearances favourable.

17th. we are now called on for more men to come in till the 1st of April, seven Regiments to consist of 728 each, Connecticut for four, N. Hampshire for two, in all thirteen, all which will but Compleat the Army to your Establishment. from which you may Judge of the present Situation of it. Two Prizes Carried in Yesterday to Newberry Port by a small Privateer, one a Ship from London with Coal and Porter, the other a Brigantine from Ireland with Provisions.

James Warren to Samuel Adams[1]

Watertown, *Jany.* 31, 1776

My Dear Sir, — I have little more Time than to Express my Obligations to you for your several Favours since my last. if you conceive the pleasure with which I receive and read your Letters I am sure your Benevolence would prompt you to continue writing even if the proportion of your Letters to mine, I mean in Number, should be as six to one. Our Valuable Friends, Mr. J. Adams, and Gerry, left us last Thursday, and I hope will be with you soon, from them you will learn the State of things here, Civil and Military, more Compleatly than I could give it you in a Volume. I shall therefore give you no Trouble about matters that had taken place before they left us, and very little has happened since. Manly last week took two Ships from Whitehaven, with Coal, Beer, Potatoes, and some other small Articles. a Tender came to their relief with a Force superiour to Manley's, but he Bravely Beat Him off and Triumphantly Carried them into Plymouth. Advices from Canada, I suppose, you have as soon as we. I am glad to hear our Friends were all well before Quebec on the 14th Instant. Our Militia, I believe, will Come in agreable to the summons of the Court. we hear from some Towns that more are Inlisted than their Quota, and I hope will Join the Army at the

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

Time Expected. The Regiments for Canada are raising fast. Coll. [John] Fellows raised a Regiment in Berkshire by Gen. Schuyler's Orders, and these are gone. I hope that wont Interfere with [Elisha] Porters getting his Regiment. I hear he goes on well. We yesterday proceeded to the Choice of Officers of Militia. Coll. Hancock was Unanimously Chose by the House the first Major General. I am glad to hear of the Arrival of so fine a parcel of Saltpetre at Philadelphia. I wish to hear more News of that kind. what the Movements of the Troops in Boston will be next I cant say. some things look as if they Intended to decamp from Boston, and I suppose move South if they do. I am glad General Lee is gone to York. I am glad you have done Lovel so much honour and justice.[1] the General sent in the proposal Yesterday. I will read the Pamphlet you recommend as soon as I can get it and will then give you my Opinion of it. I am Obliged to Conclude and have only time to wish you all Happiness and am with respects to our Friends yours etc.

J. W.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [2]

Watertown, *Feby.* 14th, 1776

My Dear Sir, — I have neglected writeing to you by several Opportunities, prevented by various reasons, among others by the hurry attending the Close of a Sessions. we have been about riseing for a Week past, but new matters Continually pressing upon us has delayed it to this day. the design is to be up this Evening, but I suspect the same Cause will delay us one day longer. I have just left the House, being very unwell. I Intend to set out for Home in the Morning, if I feel any ways fit for a journey. I have Endeavoured to get the Pamphlet you mentioned, but have not succeeded. I have not had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Adams and cant learn what the Title is. however, I Conjecture it may be Common Sense, which I have seen, and am (I dare say you will believe) among the many Admirers of it and therefore shant blame you on Account of its differing from my Sentiments. the Sentiments, the principles, and the whole Book are prodigiously admired here by the best Judges. Doctor Winthrop and Major Hawley are charmed with it. we three should certainly vote for a declaration of Independence without delay, being fully Convinced of the Advantage and necessity of it. what can prevail with the Congress to hesitate, when will the Time and Circumstances more proper arrive; can they ever; I dread the postponeing

1 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, IV. 32.
2 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

this step and I dread [it] the more because I find the House of Lords have got before them your Petition. if they accept your offers and close with you on your own Terms, how are you to get clear of it. and if you cant where shall we be and what shall we do next; then certainly we shall not be in so good a Situation for such a Measure as now. besides Spring is almost arrived, when we shall want every aid and every Advantage. therefore Guard against the Embarrassments that may be the Consequence of Treating and proposals of reconciliation by takeing a Step in its nature, and I hope in your Intention, as unalterable as the Laws of the Meeds, etc. I wish I could give you any thing pleasing, or even new, but there is a perfect dearth of News here. no military Operations on our side have yet taken place. the General is yet in want of powder sufficient to Enable him to Undertake any thing of Consequence. last Night a detachment of the Enemy got on Dorchester Hill, Burnt several Buildings, and took four or five prisoners, and then retreated without any loss. I cant Ascertain the perticulars of this Affair, which tho' not great is somewhat Mortifying. no prizes lately taken. we have ordered a Committee to furnish you with our Journals and Acts as fast as they are printed, by which you will be able to form some Judgment how we spend our Time. the Reinforcement of the Army by our Militia is more than equal to my Expectations and I believe equal to the call for them. I hope to hear from you soon. where is your fleet. my regards to Mr. J. Adams and Gerry, and Coll. Hancock. I shall write to Mr. Adams by first Opportunity. I cant add more this Evening but that I am your Friend.

[*No signature.*]

I am directed by the House to desire our delegates to furnish us with three or four sets of the printed Journals of your August Body. I have lost the Vote or would Inclose it.

We have not surmounted all our difficulties in forming the Militia by Compleating the Bill. the House chose Coll. Hancock the first, your Humble Servant the Second and Coll. [Azor] Orne the third Major Generals. the Board nonconcurred the second, because they think, as they say, the Choice militates with a Clause in the Act, forgetting it did as much so with the Choice of several of their Honours, as military Officers, Brigadiers, etc. the Vote by means of the nonconcurrence is again before us. I am unable to say what the House will do with it. Orne refuses. Coll. Hancock is objected to as being unable to attend, etc. it lays for the present and will till next Session. Thompson for Cumberland is among the Brigadiers and concurred, and gives much uneasiness in that County, and I suppose some others will in others. I am glad to be out of the List, but the Council have done it in a manner as ungracious and Indelicate as

Bernard or Hutchinson would have done; for which reason I have serious thoughts of quiting my civil commission and [*illegible*] an Independent [*illegible*] Saltpetre comes in finely and we have given Encouragement to Build two more powder mills.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Plymo., *Feby.* 28th, 1776

My Dear Sir, — I have been at Home near a fortnight and dureing the whole time have been very Ill and am so yet. I can only Inclose you a Letter from London which came this Evening to my hands in the Shattered Condition you will find it, having narrowly Escaped the flames to which it was Committed with a large Number of others to Escape the Inspection of the Pirates in the Channel and was saved with one other for the General and one for Doctor Franklin by the Assiduity of Mr. Furnace who was a Passenger on Board and who Informs me that thirty-nine Commissioners are comeing out to treat with the several Colonies, three to each. they are to disown your Authority. this policy is as flimsy as the rest of their Conduct. do take Care that they all give the same Answer — that is, refer them to you. Adeu.

J. W.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [2]

Watertown, *May* 2, 1776

My Dear Sir, — No Abatement of Affection or Inclination to Correspond with my much Esteemed Friend, but want of Health, and Consequently Spirits, Joined to the few Occurrences that take place here of late, are the true reasons that I have wrote so seldom to you. I am much obliged to you for your agreable favour of April 16.[3] I perfectly agree with you in the sentiments there Expressed. it is really surpriseing to me that a matter of so great Consequence should be delayed so long. G. Britain is Engageing Hessians, Hanoverians and all the powers of Earth and Hell they can against us, and we delay the only measure that would determine any one Power to Act a part favourable to us. it may be said that your late Resolves with regard to armed Vessels and Trade may be considered as such. it is true they seem to be connected with a declaration of Independence, [but] seem rather a consequence than a prior Step.

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 *Ibid.* 3 Vol. I. 224, *supra.*

that declaration should therefore be Explicitly made first and these following would have Evinced our determination to act such a part as would Intitle us to the Confidence of other Nations. I hope, however, the wisdom of Congress will steer things in such a Channel as at least to make a diversion in our favour in Europe. surely the favourable Opportunity the Enemies of Britain have while their strength is thus Employed abroad in the ridiculous manner it is will not fail to be Embraced. Our Eyes are upon Heaven and you. what shall I say to you about your dear Colony. Things look rather dull and gloomy here. The Troops left here are too few in my Opinion and want that Animation necessary to make them serviceable. in Consequence of it little has been done, I mean Comparatively, to fortify the Town of Boston. six weeks are elapsed and not so much done as you would have Expected in two. however, they are now in a way to do something. Fort Hill in a tolerable state of defence; some very good works at Charlestown, Dorchester, and others going on at Castle Island. to aid this Business we have been obliged to call in some six Coast men, to Hire others by the month, and to order a Regiment of 728 men to be raised. this last goes on heavily. what the reasons are I am not able to say, but it alarms me much to find this Colony already Involved in any difficulty to raise one Regiment, when I think the Encouragement is good. our Politicians in General Court have been Engaged too much in small Innovations of our Internal Police, such as Confession Bills, Fee Bills, etc., which do not relate to the grand Question, which is Extensive enough to Employ the most Enlarged Genius and Employ all our Time. is not this like picking up pins while the Ship is sinking. thus far have I wrote, but was Interrupted by Company. shall be able to add only.

May 3d. This Morning 3 o Clock I was called up by an Express who brought the Inclosed. the hurry this occasions will save you a longer letter. I always Apprehended they would not leave Boston. you will be able to make your own Judgment on this matter, and I dare say the Congress will Conduct on this Occasion with their usual Wisdom. I presume as soon as the Court can be Collected this morning they will send Expresses to General Washington, etc., perhaps not to Congress, supposeing you will have it from him.[1] I am Dear Sir with proper regards to all Friends yours sincerely.

[*No signature.*]

I believe you will want a Paymaster in your Eastern department. I am sure you want money here. Your Service is much Injured by the Soldiers not haveing their pay according to Engagements. I am Concerned for the

1 *Writings of Washington* (Ford), IV. 67*n*.

publick Credit and I am sure it is good policy to have your Bills in as many hands as they are due to.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *August* 15, 1776

My Dear Sir, — I have not wrote to you since you have been a Member of a free and Independent State. I must, therefore, first Congratulate you on an Event which, I presume, is as agreeable to you as any that could take place. I wish you may live and Enjoy it in full health many Years. I want to know what you are about now. how goes on the Confederation, foreign Alliances and some other great matters. I seem to think that they will (now your declaration is made) go on more smoothly than before. I wish I could give you anything of Consequence from here, but what you are already informed of. Our Attention is turned to the Motions of the Armies at New York and we are with anxious Solicitude every day Expecting great Events. I hope when they come they will be favourable to us.

The Spirit of Privateering prevails here greatly. the Success of those that have before Engaged in that Business has been sufficient to make a whole Country privateering mad. many kinds of West india Goods that we used to be told we should suffer for want of, are now plentier and cheaper than I have known them for many Years.

An Opinion prevails here, and I think now without foundation, that the Hessians will not fight till a Carteel for the Exchange of Prisoners is settled. would it not therefore be Excellent policy to refuse to settle one that should Include them. You will have heard of the Reception and polite Treatment Lord Howe gave Mr. Tracey when he went on Board his Ship to get an Exchange of Prisoners, for the purpose of geting his Brother and Crew from Hallifax.[2] he must have had some views more than politeness or Benevolence dictated, or he never would have Conversed with him as he did. it was really a piece of finesse. I am not in a Condition to write this Morning nor should I have done it, but after so long a silence to tell you that my Esteem and regard for my Friend Mr. Adams is as great as ever and to Express my Concern for your Health. I am sorry to hear it is declineing, tho I cant wonder at it. such long and Intense Application in a place so unhealthy must be too much for a firmer

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

2 The privateer *Yankee Hero*, of Newburyport, James Tracy, commander, was taken in June, 1776, by the British ship *Milford*. The prisoners were brought to Marblehead in December, 1776. The brother's name was Robert Tracy.

Constitution than yours. I am sensible of the Importance of your being at Congress at this time and I know the reluctance you have at leaveing your Duty there; but your health must be attended to. we shall want you again. you must therefore take a ride and Relax your Mind and Breath some of our Northern Elastic Air. Mr. Gerry is here and Intends to set out for Philadelphia on Monday next. My regards to Mr. Adams. I am your Friend,

J.W.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Watertown, *Octr.* 24th, 1776

My Dear Sir, — I Received yours from Springfield and shall pay a proper regard to the Contents. have also spoke to Major Hawley as you desired. I believe there will be no danger of Barber's failing. since you left us we have been Engaged almost wholly about raising our Quota of Men. we have Committees gone to each Camp with great Encouragement in Addition to yours, and we have further Instructed them to Consult with the Generals and if they desired that our Militia now in the Army and Engaged to the 17th Novr. and first of December should be Continued, that they Endeavour to prevail with them to remain to the first of Feby. and to Engage them, three pounds per mo. from 17th Nov. this thing with a Representation made to Congress by a Committee, and which you will see before this reaches you, was done when we received Advice of the progress of our Enemies on the Lake and soon got a Copy of a Letter Genl. Schuyler sent to the Berkshire Committees. we have now a Committee Considering what further aid we can give the Northern Army. the Militia of Hampshire and Berkshire that have Arms are already marched. I believe we shall send up Ammunition and what Arms we have to those Counties, and provide some more men below. I hope their Career will be stoped. it would be a Misfortune indeed to have either of our Armies routed. we are this day designing to pass on a Commission for a Committee of War, who are to be vested with ample powers and Consequently may relieve the Assembly, dispatch Business and save money. we have no other News from any quarter. a few prizes are daily dropping in. it is reported that a ship with forty light Horse on Board has been taken in the Channel of England by a Salem Privateer after an Obstinate Engagement, in which the privateer lost seventeen men. we are about moveing to Boston, haveing taken the Room belonging to the County. A Committee are Enlargeing and prepareing the Repre-

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

sentatives Room and say it will be finished next Tuesday. many of our Members, however, go with reluctance and it will delay it as much as possible. but these are small matters in Comparison of those which may be the Consequences of a General Action at York or Ticonderoga, and of those of forming a new Army, etc. God Grant us Success in both. I am an Enthusiast. I have full Confidence we shall succeed, tho' some things appear rather against us. I sent forward your Letter to Mrs. Adams. I hope to hear from you and of your safe Arrival at Philadelphia. I am with great Sincerity your Friend

J. W.

My regards to Mr. Gerry. I wrote to him last Sunday by the Express. Mr. Adams passed through this Town last Tuesday when the Court was setting, without seeing or being seen by any Body.

Our Naval Operations are Counteracted and discouraged by many sagacious devises of our Enemies or pretended Friends, but truly the lovers of Mammon, some of which I think should be Immediately remedied. A Vessel is sent out with orders to return directly back, or with Letters of that purpose, but designed only to shew upon a certain Occasion. She is on her arrival in the West Indies, Britain, or some such places Registered in the Name of some Person there, and then is Completely fixed [fitted]. the last is to Guard her against the British Cruisers, and if she is taken by ours, she is Claimed by the Original Owner, and the other said to be only designed for a protection against the Men of war, and to support the pretence the Orders and Letters are Advanced. by this means a very profitable Trade is Carried on to Hallifax, Newfoundland, the W. India Islands, etc., etc., and when they have been taken many of them have been [*torn*]. The Anxiety for the Event of the present Campaign is great. this is not to be wondered at. the Exultation and Tryumphing of the Tories is Intolerable. our want of Spirit to Crush them Contemptible; but above all the Indiscretion and Timidity of many of our Whiggs is truely ridiculous, tho' dangerous, being Calculated to aid and promote a general panic upon [any] reverse of our Affairs, a thing more [to be] dreaded than almost any thing.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *Novr.* 18th, 1776

My Dear Sir, — we are again set down in our *Ancient and most Convenient Seat*, your dear Town of Boston, where we proceed in Business

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

with a dispatch that Evinces the Conveniency of doing Business here, haveing done more in the week we have been here than we should have done in two at Watertown. we have chosen our delegates for the Ensuing Year. all the old ones were Chose by a great Majority and some of you almost Unanimously. to you we have added Mr. Dana and Mr. James Lovel, who we hear is arrived at the Jerseys. we have passed an Act for Reinforcing the Army in good Season to furnish 4000 men requested by Genl. Washington, if they shall be still wanted; tho' by the Intelligence we have of the retreat of the Army from Crown Point, and the rumour of the retreat of the British Army to the City of New York, we flatter ourselves this Campaign is at an End. we have formed a Board of War, with a very Extensive Commission, and appropriated to their disposition £200,000 to purchase every thing necessary to Enable us to Act vigorously the next Year. this Liberal Grant from our House, possessed of such a portion of Saveing Grace as they are, may shew how much we are in Earnest. if there be now an End of the Campaign, dont Britain make a Contemptible figure. now I have given you an Account of some of our doings shall I Enquire what your high Mightinesses are about. where is your Confederation. are your Embassadors gone, etc., etc. I wish I could Entertain you with any News of Importance but I can only tell you of prizes taken. but this is become so common that we hardly hear of them ourselves, unless they are from Europe with such Articles as we want much, and very rich besides. we have had divers such lately. A report prevails this day that Howe is Embarking his Troops, which occasions many Conjectures about the place of their destination. I forgot to tell you that this Harbour really looks Brilliant and Grand, as full of Ships as in the more flourishing State of Commerce, and all but a few armed Vessels prizes. you will please to remember that I have not a Line from you since your Arrival at Philadelphia. My regards to my good Friend Mr. Gerry. I am assuredly yours, etc.

[*No signature.*]

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *Decr.* 29th, 1776

My dear Sir, — Since my last I have several of your favours. that of the 4th Instant I received yesterday and one of the 12th this day by Mr. Brown. I hear there is one other in town which in my Absence has been opened by the Council and is yet in the possession of some of them and contains some matters of secrecy and Importance. why I dont

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

get it remains to some of them to Account for. they have frequently served me in this way lately, under pretence of the letters being publick ones. for which reason I could wish my Friends would not in future direct to me as Speaker of the House. I own I am astonished to find such a Lethargy and want of principle, a spirit prevailing in any one of the United Colonies, as to suffer an Army of 10 or 15,000, or even double that number to traverse through the heart of it with as little Interruption as a Man in times of profound peace might make a Journey. this has furnished me with Ideas intirely new and given me more anxiety than my own Apprehensions, or any thing that ever before took place have suggested. the Triumph of our Enemies and the disgrace to the Country mortify me much, but dont discourage me. I have full faith and Confidence we shall yet prevail. were I to see an Experiment of the like kind tried here with like success, I should think I had never Entertained proper Sentiments of this Country or the Contest we are Engaged in; but till I do I shall believe the Event of such a project here would be such as you and I could wish. I believe our hardy Countrymen would soon make such an Army repent their rashness and cut them to pieces before they should march thirty miles. but how comes it to pass that such an Event should take place any where. is it not oweing to the Indecition of Congress, to their delays, to the Lenity and Indulgence every where shewn our Internal Enemies, by which they have had Opportunities and Improved them to destroy the principle and spirit of defence, which was once vigorous enough any where to prevent such a disgrace. had Congress taken the same measures for forming an Army last June which they did in Septr., we should before this have had a fine Army on foot, well Cloathed and supplyed with everything, and the British Army probably cooped up in a Garrison under the Cannon of their Ships, Cut to pieces, or gone of in disgrace. had Congress last winter instead of this gone in Earnest into a Treaty with other powers, it would have Encouraged your friends and silenced your Enemies. I feel every day Embarrassment from their most Inveterate of all Enemies among ourselves; their secret Operations have always Injured us, Countermined now by our Absurd policy of foolish Lenity towards them and supported by Hopes from the small Advantages gained by the Enemy, they dare act their part without disguise. they poison the minds of the people, Interrupt our best measures and, in some measure, prevent our raising the Army so fast as I could wish. however, I have the pleasure to tell you that the prospects with regard to our quota are good. many are Inlisted and many are daily Inlisting. large quantities of Cloathing have been and now are providing with Industry and success, some of which is gone forward. the *Alfred* prize is arrived with Cloathing for twelve Regiments and a large quantity of

Blankets, tho' at the same time I must Lament the Loss of one of your Vessels lately taken by the Enemy, with a large quantity of powder and some arms. I am told one Bunker was the Master. I had before formed my Opinion of your "Excellent superlatively wise and great patriot." I despise his Timidity and Inconsistency. I have long dreaded their Effects. however, we are really Engaged in the Cause of God and Men, and I trust neither the Folly or wickedness of any Individual or Number of Men will prevent a happy Issue. Mr. P[aine], I suppose, has got Home. I wish him the Enjoyment of domestic Felicity. I am glad to find you approveing our Choice of Delegates. I cant say when Mr. Adams proposes to go. I am sensible you must want him, but I believe he dont go very soon. Mr. Dana and Lovel, I suppose, go this week. I condole with you on the Loss of General Lee. this Misfortune is greatly Lamented here. how could he be so Improvident as to suffer himself to be so Exposed to the Treachery of Rascals about him or to be taken in such a manner by a few light Horse. we are in daily and anxious Expectation of hearing the Issue of a general Action. the Lord Grant it may be in our favour. I hope they will neither get the Congress Napping or any other way. I like some of the materials of it too well to wish a Change of the whole. I am pleased to hear that our Affairs abroad wear a good Aspect. Our Attention is turned almost wholly on the war in general and the particular defence of this State. you know what situation you left this Town in. it has since been Improveing and will I hope soon be in a good posture of defence. however, I could wish there was more Firmness and Spirit in our Councils. there is an Instability and versa[ti]lity in them that by no means pleases me and I think Injures the good Cause. many things take place that I dont like and many are omitted that I do. I feel the want of that Connection I used to have. we have many new people and some old ones that are Timid and want firm Nerves, and others seven Years behind us in politicks. however. will do as well as I can; sufficient for you are your own difficulties. I am apprised of the regard the British Government have for us. I shall do all I can to be provided for them in the Spring, and tho' I should deprecate my Country's being the seat of War on any other Occasion, supposeing it best for the whole, I should be willing, now my dependence is on Providence and our own Exertions, and will think them sufficient. I hope there will be no Occasion for foreign Troops here. A Diversion in the West Indies or elsewhere might answer our purposes as well. My Compliments to my good Friend Mr. Gerry. shall write him soon. Adeu, my good Friend. I wish you the Blessings of Heaven and am, etc. [*No signature.*]

The Troops are Embarking or Embarkd at Rhode Island, but where

Bound we know not. one of your armed Schooners formerly Commanded by Burke and some time ago taken by the Enemy, last week in a Storm run into a Harbour nigh Portsmouth. the Crew 50 in Number delivered up the Vessel and themselves prisoners.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Boston, *Feby.* 2d, 1777

My dear Sir, — I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 8th Jany, three days ago. I have not been negligent of the hint you mention, but have been greatly at a loss in what manner to put it in Execution here that would not at the same time destroy all hopes of Success. the necessity of Communicating it to so many would certainly have that Effect. I am, therefore, glad to hear that you have fallen on other measures not liable to that Objection. I wish it may be Attended with success. It will certainly be an Important Event if Effected. I shall let it sleep in Oblivion till I hear of the Attempt. I am glad to hear that our Troops and some of our Officers have Obtained a Name and a Character in the Army. I Enjoy and sincerely Congratulate you on the agreable reverse of our Affairs. The Incursion of the Enemy into the Jersies, though it at first gave great Spirit to our Internal Enemies and damped the Spirits of such of our Friends as are Constituted only to sail before the wind, has already turned much to our Advantage. the late success of our Arms has Blasted and Confounded the Hopes and Insolence of the one, and inspired the other with a degree of resolution that may last till the next Misfortune. We have, indeed, had enough to do with the sauciness of the Tories, and the Timidity and wretched folly of many of the whigs. the Events of War are uncertain, but I think we have much to hope for from the present Enterpriseing Spirit of the Army. when you please you will give me the reason why the resolution you mention was not Communicated to me. you have raised my Curiosity with regard to this matter. I hope your Resolution with respect to the Officers in your hands will not abate if Genl. Lee should be treated in the manner you Expect. Lenity and even kindness and Tenderness on our Side is want of policy when Opposed to Barbarity on the other. I have great Expectations from the present Spirit of Congress. it gives me great pleasure to hear things go agreable to your Mind. while they do I ever presume they are Conducted to the Advantage of the Country. what the perticulars are I do not Enquire, but Consider as the *Arcana* of State. however, if I may Conjecture that the forming a General Constitution be one subject. I hope to hear

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

soon that it is Compleated and that in the Execution of it the defects and wretched management in the old Country will be Avoided. Pensions and Sinecures will be an Abhorrence to the present Age, and does it not approach nearly to them to keep up one of the highest Officers with pay and perquisites with the Command of a very Inferiour one. it is a Charming thing to be a favourite at Court. had I been so lucky, the paymaster's pay and perquisites might have been Continued to me to this time, my resignation Notwithstanding. I dont mention this as a thing I wish. I should despise the Pay, etc., of a Major General without doing the Duty, or flying to the Assistance of a Neighbouring State if attacked. if there be now Existing any such Instance you may depend on its being the subject of Conversation. if any such should hereafter Exist do define the powers with which he is Invested, that we may know whether it is necessary for the Court to Interpose upon the smallest Occasions — the moveing a single Company or furnishing them with a Blanket or a Dinner, sat verbum sapienti. my Friend Gerry has a Compleat Idea of what has taken place before now. My Friend Mr. Adams gave me the Slip and left me disappointed in looseing an Opportunity of saying many things to him which I had prepared for the parting Interview. I shall persecute him with Letters as soon as I can. I hope he is well and now with you, and also Mr. Lovel, by whom I wrote you. we have no kind of News. we are on the Eve of a three weeks recess which, if nothing takes place to prevent, will Commence in a day or two, haveing passed a Bill against Treason, a Tax Bill, and one or two others, and varied our determinations about raiseing the Army till it is become almost a Byword, and the Business much delayed. how many Men are Engaged I know not. I believe a Considerable Number. the whole would soon be got if we were steady, but we have lately passed and sent out a new resolve, bitterly against my Sentiments, holding up a design of levying them on the Towns. I fear the Operation of this will be to stop any further Inlistments till the Soldiers can Extort from their Townsmen fifty Dollars apiece in addition to the Bounty already given. I wish you Health and happiness and am, with regards to my Good Friends, yours sincerely.

[*No signature.*]

Brigadier Knox is here and has sent in a Memorial and desired the Bounty we give to the fifteen Battalions may be given to four others now to be raised. it seems to be Curious to have one of your Generals petitioner for this Bounty, but how they can be raised without I know not. however, it is not Complyed with.

This Town is full of People of Consequence. your Promotions are rapid and the Increase of the Army has Multiplied Officers so that they are as

numerous here as the British Officers used to be. I feel like a very Inconsiderable person and that it is time for me to retire to my Farm, etc., etc., but this Letter is long enough. Adeu.

James Warren to Samuel Adams [1]

Plymo., *Febry.* 24th, 1777

My dear Sir, —I have now for a rarity been at Home a fortnight where I had the pleasure of receiveing your favour of the 1st Instant two days ago. I have a prospect of being at home one week more and then the Court meets again. I never at Home or Abroad received a Line from you that was displeasing to me. I never received one that did not give me great pleasure. I always Consider them as favours and Endeavour in some measure to deserve them. if my Friend had been Capable of being Infected with the Ill humours of any Man, I should have suspected he had caught a little of the pevishness of the —— when he seems to have lost his Confidence in the Attention and Affection of his Friend. it was certainly a fortunate Circumstance that Mr. Lovel arrived as he did, with a full Conviction of both. to be serious I do Employ every leisure hour in writeing to you and my other friends. but I have been Extreemly Engaged in Business and greatly fatigued. I have since that by Mr. Lovel wrote you a very long Letter by Mr. Bromfield, which I hope you have received by this time. I did not, however, give you any Account of the reception the proceedings of the Committees you mention, supposeing it would be taken for granted that they were agreable to the New England Assemblies whose Committees they were. and indeed this was the fact. they were received, believed and submitted to like the doctrines of holy writt. A quotation from the report of the Convention would silence any Man and knock down all Opposition at once, and this was really carried a great length with regard to the whole, and in general was and is Universally the case. A Spirit of Enthusiasm prevailed with regard to this matter, and had it not been for the Audacity of a few who ventured at the hazard of their reputation to question the policy of some part of the report, we might have been Involved in greater Confusion than we are. I recollect, however, but one Instance. the Convention reported that the Bounty to be given to the Soldiers in the N. England States should be no more than £10. each. I was always for giveing a Bounty to the Soldier in Addition to that given by Congress, supposeing that Justice required it. but I always wished it should be small, and ever Opposed the Extravagant Measures taken with regard to that matter. but when the

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

measures were once Adopted and when I saw the fatal Influence of the Versatility of our Counsels and the Continual Change of our Measures both with regard to raising our quota of the Army and the Authority of our Government, I was for Adhering to our former measures as the least of two Errors, and for being steady for once and avoiding the great Confusions that would Ensue from haveing some Inlisted on one Encouragement and others on another. this might Occasion some Mortification to a Man who had assumed some Extraordinary airs from the Exercise of his new Commission and pleased himself with Expectations of Absolute Submission to the decrees of a Body he belonged to, and is the only Source I can conceive of, from whence should arise a Pet in the writer of the Letter which produced one in the receiver. I had once the honour of being president of the Board of War. I remained such with my head full of a Thousand projects and my hands full of Business, till the House took it into their heads that my Attendance there as Speaker was necessary for carrying on the public Business. they passed accordingly a Vote of dismission from the Board in Terms no way dishonorary to me. this was Concurred. I was sent for and have there remained ever since, without any Ideas of my own Importance quite satisfied to be there, or any where that shall be assigned me. I am, however, plyed hard enough with publick Business. had not Providence sent us a succession of Storms I should not have found leisure to write you this long Scroll even at Home. I promised myself here an Opportunity of Attending to a few small matters of my own and the Benefits of some relaxation. but the Board of War have Earnestly desired me to purchase some Vessels and Cargoes, and Charter others for them during this recess. this I am doing and have now six Vessels on hand with which I find full Employment. some of them are ordered to the Gentleman you recommend; several are already gone to that House, and I am glad to find their orders Coincideing with your wishes. No Matters of Intelligence can I give you from here. I have Collected and Conveyed in a Letter to my Friend Mr. Adams, wrote two days ago, all I could think of. I dare say he will Communicate it to you without Pet or pevishness. I think you have done well in regarding the Memory and takeing Care of the Families of those who have Nobly sacrificed their Lives for the publick good. money is much better spent this way than in another Instance hinted to you in my last, which, by the way, I never should have mentioned if it had not been worse than heaving it away and in a manner that is a dead weight on our public Operations. if he (you know who) was a real Statue, we should know what to Expect and act accordingly. Adeu my Friend. [*No signature.*]

My Compliments to Mr. Gerry. shall write him soon.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

BOSTON, *April* 2d, 1777

MY DEAR SIR, — I have often within a week past Attempted to write to you without being able to perform it. something or other has always taken place to Call me off and I Expect will now before I have wrote five lines more. however, it is not much to be regretted on your part, since I have little more to say to you than a bare Expression of my Friendship, which you was well assured of before. no kind of Intelligence has lately been received here but of a Capture made by an Indian party of a small Number of our men at Ticonderoga and a request to push forward our Men for the support of that Important Post, which we are Endeavouring to do. the Tickets for your Lottery have had an amazeing rapid sale here. Your Loan Office, I am told, is successful, but I dont know the perticulars, being as great a stranger, and perhaps for the same reasons, to the L[oan] Officers as you used to be to the friends of Government who sat in the House with you. we have now and then a prize come in, but it is a rarity. I wish again to let loose the privateers. we are takeing measures to Compleat the fortifications of this harbour and I believe if the plan be not too Extensive it will be tolerably Executed. about two-thirds of our fifteen Battalions are raised. we have in the House been Employed among many other things in passing Acts for takeing Care of the Estates of Absentees, etc., for preventing desertion, for Establishing an Oath of Abjuration and Allegiance to be taken by all that have been King's Officers (excepting Mandamus Councellors and a few others), and those suspected of being Inimical, who on refusal are to be sent to England or the West Indies. it is also to be taken by all Officers, Civil and Military, etc. we are also about many other Acts of a more private nature and Resolves in Abundance. I am again Interrupted and so must Conclude after desireing your Attention to the Affairs of my Friend, Mr. Temple. he has suffered Extremely and in a way a little out of the Common Course, not by the ravages of the Enemy, but by the wanton destruction of some of our own Army, which has laid waste his whole Farm and destroyed at once the well Contrived and Judicious work of many Years and left his Buildings in a Situation very little better. whether there be a propriety in takeing up this matter at this time I cant say. if there be I could wish it, as his Circumstances require it and his Industry in the Noble profession of Husbandry with many other good qualities have great Merit. I am with Compliments to all Friends and the best wishes for your Happiness your sincere Friend.

[*No signature.*]

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

BOSTON, *June* 16th, 1777

MY DEAR SIR, — It is now a long time since I have had a Line from you, so long that I cant recollect the Time when I received the last. if I was given to Jealousy I might perhaps suppose you Inclined to drop the Correspondence. I have wrote three or four to you since I received one from you. I saw Mrs. Adams a few days ago and Complained to her. she Excuses you and finds many reasons — Multiplicity of Business, etc. I believe it true and wonder you can write so much as you do. I want, however, to hear how your Confederation goes on and what the state of your foreign Intelligence. as to us the Regulateing Act (which by the way your dear Town had no small hand in at first) has bro't us into a sad Hobble. we seem not to know how to go forward or backward. at the same time a favourer of it acknowledges the difficulty, if not Impossibility, of Executeing it. he cant think of repealing it. the principle Objection made is the Influence it will have on our Army, but, I believe, as true a reason is an Increasing Animosity between Town and Country. they are both to blame, which most I shant determine. the Conduct of the Town has certainly been very versatile and Impolitic. they could not have Injured their own Interest more than they did by their last Instructions.[2] we all see the want of their old pilots. but I wont forsake them, or give you any further pain on that subject. I am inclined to think we shall in a little time get right again. the Repealing the Act, the Source of Ill will and every evil work, Encourageing a free Trade and the Arrival of a Number of prizes will regulate better than any Act we can make. last Saturday we had four Brigantines comeing up at once, two of them from Bilboa and two of them prizes, all with valuable Cargoes. and yesterday we had an Account of the Arrival of a prize at the Eastward with salt, Linnens and twenty Tons of Cordage, and also of the Arrival of a Brigantine (sent out by the Board of War) from France with 108 Chests Arms, 100 bbl. powder, a quantity of Lead, flints, steel, files, etc., etc. this is an Important Arrival for us. I am obliged to write in a great hurry this morning, or should perhaps have been a little more Correct, and much longer, as I have much to say and many Enquiries to make. I wish you every Happiness and am, as usual, your sincere Friend.

[*No signature.*]

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.
2 Of May 26. *Boston Rec. Com.*, XVIII. 284.

JAMES WARREN TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

BOSTON, *Augt.* 7th, 1777

MY DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of yours of the 22d July last Night by the Post. I have before received several of your favours which I have not yet acknowledged, perticularly by Coll. Whipple, but had the misfortune not to see him being absent from this Town when he went through it. so have lost the Advantages I might have derived from a Conversation with him. the Letters you mention per. Capt. Collins I have not received. you will please to let me know who he is and when he came this way. the return you furnished me with of the Northward Army is nearly Conformable in Numbers to the Ideas I had of them. I have been from the beginning persuaded that there were at that post not less than 5000 Men, and it is to me a Mystery why there were not more there. I think I can reckon up 3500 men in the seven Battalions from this State who must have been there, or there must have been great Negligence in the officers, and it is said that the Hampshire Battalions Contained more than 2000 — A Number sufficient I should suppose to have defended a place an Army has been so long fortifying and reputed so strong against 20,000 Men. Nothing can Justify the Evacuation but a deficiency and weakness in all respects equal to the Representation Genl. St. Clair makes. This Movement has raised a general Clamour in the Country and has every where Excited Indignation and distrust, and in many fearful Apprehensions that do our Cause no good. we Continue to have Alarming Accounts of the progress of the Enemy in that quarter and have pressing requisitions from Genl. Schuyler for reinforcements of the Militia. one-sixth of the County of Worcester and numbers from Berkshire, etc., are gone. we have voted 2000 more and made an Establishment for them to remain to the last of November, but the Militia has been so harrassed by frequent drafts and there is such a want of Confidence in your Commanders that way, that I fear we shall get them with difficulty. we have been in Expectation of a Visit this way and this Town was one day in great Confusion; but they have not yet Arrived. we are last Night Informed that they are landed below you. they seem to have a great Affection for visiting the Congress. I hope they will be properly received there. I am obliged to write in Extreem haste this morning, being now Called to go down the harbour as one of a Committee to view the fortifications. the Company and Boat wait while I scribble this to you. I must therefore omit many things I have to say about the Form of

1 From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library.

our Government here, or your Confederation at Congress, etc., and Conclude with Assurances of regard and Friendship and am yours, etc.

J. W.

My regards to our Friends. Manly, you will hear, is taken. you have lost a fine frigate.

Hannah Winthrop to Mercy Warren

It is not a great while since I wrote my dear Friend on my disappointment in not paying her a Visit. Now methinks I hear her wondring how it is with her Cambridge Friends, who are at this time delugd with British and Hessian, what shall I call them? who are Prancing and Patrolling every Corner of the Town, ornamented with their glittering side arms, Weapons of distruction. A short detail of our Situation may perhaps amuse you. You will be able to form a judgment of our unhappy Circumstances.

Last thursday, which was a very stormy day, a large number of British Troops came softly thro the Town via Watertown to Prospect hill. on Friday we heard the Hessians were to make a Procession in the same rout, we thot we should have nothing to do with them, but View them as they Passt. To be sure the sight was truly astonishing. I never had the least Idea that the Creation produced such a sordid set of creatures in human Figure — poor, dirty, emaciated men, great numbers of women, who seemd to be the beasts of burthen, having a bushel basket on their back, by which they were bent double, the contents seemd to be Pots and Kettles, various sorts of Furniture, children peeping thro' gridirons and other utensils, some very young Infants who were born on the road, the women bare feet, cloathd in dirty raggs, such effluvia filld the air while they were passing, had they not been smoaking all the time, I should have been apprehensive of being contaminated by them. After a noble looking advancd Guard Gen. J——y B[urgoy]n headed this terrible group on horseback. The other G[enera]l also, cloathd in Blue Cloaks. Hessians, Anspachers, Brunswickers, etc., etc., etc., followed on. The Hessian G[enera]l gave us a Polite Bow as they Passd. Not so the British. their Baggage Waggons drawn by poor half starvd horses. But to bring up the rear, another fine Noble looking Guard of American Brawny Victorious Yeomanry, who assisted in bringing these sons of slavery to terms, some of our Waggons drawn by fat oxen, driven by joyous looking Yankees closd the cavalcade. The Generals and other Officers went to Bradishs, where they Quarter at present. The Privates trudgd thro

thick and thin to the hills, where we thot they were to be confind, but what was our Surprise when in the morning we beheld an inundation of those disagreable objects filling our streets! How mortifying is it? they in a manner demanding our Houses and Colleges for their genteel accommodation. Did the brave G—— Gates ever mean this? Did our Legislature ever intend the military should prevail above the Civil? is there not a degree of unkindness in loading poor Cambridge, almost ruined before this great army seem[d] to be let loose upon us, and what will be the Consequence time will discover.

Some Polite ones say, we ought not to look on them as Prisoners. they are persons of distinguished rank. perhaps too we must not view them in the light of enemys. I fear this distinction will be soon lost. Surpriseing that our G[enera]l or any of our C[olone]ls should insist on the first University in America being disbanded for their more genteel accomodation, and we poor oppressed people seek an Asylum in the woods against a piercing Winter.

where is the stern Virtue of an A[dam]s who opposd such an infraction in former days? Who is there to plead our Cause? Pity, Pity, it is our Assembly had not settled these matters before their adjournment. It will be vastly more difficult to abridg them after such an unbounded Licence. perhaps you may see some of them at Plimouth. for my part I think, insult Famine and a Train of evils present to View. G[enera]l B[urgoy]n dind a Saterday in Boston with G[enera]l H[eat]h. He rode thro the Town properly attended down Court Street and thro the Main Street, and on his return walkt on foot to Charlestown Ferry Followd by a great Number of Spectators as ever attended a pope and generously observd to an officer with him the Decent and modest behavior of the inhabitants as he passd, saying if he had been conducting Prisoners through the City of London, not all the Guards of Majesty could have prevented Insults. He likewise acknowledges Lincoln and Arnold to be great Generals. It is said we shall have not less than seven thousand persons to feed in Cambridge and its environs, more than its inhabitants. Two hundred and fifty cord of wood will not serve them a week. think then how we must be distrest. wood is risen to £5.10 pr.Cord and but little to be purchasd. I never thought I could lie down to sleep surrounded by these enemies. but we strangely become enured to those things which appear difficult when distant.

While I am writing a Neighbor comes in with an enlivened Countenance to tell us G[enera]l How has Surrenderd to G[enera]l Washington, but can we suffer ourselves to believe Providence will so marvelously appear for us? Ah the Events of Battles are so Precarious we dare not indulge the thought till it is confirmd by the best authority. my Partner

joyns me in the sincerest regards to General Warren and Lady, and as you must be tird by this time of my chit chat, allow me to subscribe Ever yours

[*No signature.*]

Cambridge, *Novr.* 11th, 1777.

P.S. G[enera]l B[urgoy]n has repeated said he was convincd it was impossible Great Britain should ever subdue America. he therefore wishd a Union might take place that would never be broken and that he might get home soon to prevent any more attempts that way.

If you like anecdotes I will give you one more. When G[enera]l Phillips was travelling thro the back of Albany, where it is very rocky and barren, he expressd his Astonishment that they should ever cross the Atlantic and go thro such difficulty to conquer so unfavorable a Country which would not be worth a keeping when conquered. when they came upon the fertile banks of Connecticut river G[enera]l Whipple said to him, This is the Country which we are fighting for. Ah, replyd the G[enera]l. This is a country worth a Ten Years war.

We hear no Parole signd yet.

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